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ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

I arrived in Moscow, Russia, on the evening of April 29, 1958. A security officer boarded the plane and took my passport. I was the last person to leave the plane. Since I did not see anyone who appeared to be looking for me, I proceeded to the airport terminal and sat down to decide what to do next. In a moment a man about 40 to 42 years of age, about 5'10" in height and wearing glasses came over and said hello to me. This man is Nicolai Dimitrovitch Matkovsky and he has just become the head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He succeeded one Korianov who is now in charge of a ten-man delegation from Russia to the new international communist magazine, "For Peace and Democracy," being published in Prague. The first issue is due on or about September 1, 1958. Matkovsky works under B. N. Ponomarev, who is the head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Matkovsky stated that a cablegram announcing my arrival had just been received. He asked for the baggage checks and gave them to the chauffeur who was with him. The baggage was placed into the auto without inspection.

I was driven to a nine-story apartment building where I was to live all the time I was in Moscow. It is believed that this apartment building is utilized for persons whose identity must be protected or who must live in Moscow under security conditions. While the address of this apartment building is Number 8 Gorki Street, it faces Sovietskaya (phonetic) Square. It is near the Moscow Soviet which is a red building. It is also near the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. It is also near a large statue of Yuri "The Long Handed," the founder of Moscow.

The apartment building is divided by an archway. It has only a rear entrance. There are two elevators, a passenger elevator and a freight elevator. These elevators are guarded by women who sit in an enclosed glass structure. It is impossible to use either elevator without a key. The guards, who are always on duty, maintain the keys for the elevators.

I was taken to an apartment on the sixth floor. It is a seven-room apartment with three bedrooms, a study, a dining room, a kitchen and bath. The apartment is most elegantly furnished and

contains everything a guest might need, including shaving equipment, tooth brush, pajamas, et cetera. The doors are padded and the walls are soundproof. The housekeeper for the apartment lives in the apartment all the time. She does the cleaning, takes care of the laundry, makes the beds, et cetera. A cook arrived each morning to prepare the meals.

The apartment is well stocked with staple foods, wine, vodka, brandy, mineral water, oranges and other fruit. There is a television set in the apartment. The study has a short and long wave radio and a record player.

Katkovsky came into the apartment with me and said that this is an apartment of the Central Committee and that this is where I would live. He had supper with me. The meal was practically a banquet, but was only the beginning of several such meals. The cook, who is about 30 years of age, had attended school to learn how to prepare various foreign dishes.

Katkovsky did not give me any Russian money. He said that I should ask for anything I wanted and it would be provided. He said that there was no need for money since I should not be seen on the streets, and the fact that I would have no money would help me to maintain my security. After eating with me, he left the apartment.

The study was well stocked with books and current publications in the English, French, German, Spanish and Italian languages. At my request, "The New York Times" or the European edition of either "The New York Times" or the "New York Herald Tribune" were brought to me from time to time. I also received "Pravda" several days a week and the "Moscow News," which is in English and is published on Wednesdays and Saturdays. I was also furnished with "Newsweek" from time to time. It was impossible, however, to obtain any American or British broadcasts on the short wave radio, even though the radio appeared powerful enough to bring in such broadcasts. It is possible that the antenna was so adjusted so as to prevent the picking up of these broadcasts.

Upon my return from China in July, the housekeeper told me that four persons from Western Germany had occupied the apartment while I was on the trip to China. On the last day before I left Russia to return to the United States, I accidentally observed that the housekeeper had a photograph of Joseph Stalin in her room.

FIRST DAY IN MOSCOW, APRIL 30, 1958

The usual routine was breakfast at 9:00 a.m., dinner at 2:00 p.m., and supper at 9:00 p.m. or later.

On April 30, 1958, Aleksei Andreevich Grechukhin appeared at the apartment after breakfast. He is about 35 to 40 years of age and is very similar in appearance to John Williamson. He works in the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under Nicolai. Subsequently he met with me for the next three or four days. At the end of this time he left Moscow for the United States as part of the Russian "Student Editors Delegation." He returned to Moscow in June and was with me from time to time after that.

On the same morning Matkovsky also appeared at the apartment. Both stated that they were happy to see me and that the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union thanks the Communist Party, USA, for finally finding ways of making direct contact.

On the evening of April 30, 1958, I was officially welcomed to the Soviet Union at a semiformal dinner in my apartment. In addition to Matkovsky and Grechukhin, V. P. Tereshkin was present. He is the chief deputy to B. N. Ponomarev. He is about 50 years of age, 5'8" in height and has a heavy build. His main hobby is fishing. He was well dressed. He is very jolly. While he does not understand English, both Matkovsky and Grechukhin understand English and speak it fairly well.

All three stressed the importance of the Communist Party of the United States. They stated that the Soviet Party is glad that the American Communist Party was able to defeat the revisionists. In fact, this is the best news they have had in a long time. In a general discussion they stated that they do not underestimate the American industrial capacity. All present drank toasts to proletarian internationalism, the health of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Communist Party, USA. Tereshkin made a toast to the day when the United States will arrive at communism at the same time that Russia does. In explaining this last toast, Tereshkin stated that because of the industrial development in the United States, once the communists get rid of the bourgeoisie, then United States communism can catch up with Russia, which is now in the first stages of communism. It is noted that this was a paraphrasing of statements by Nikita Khrushchev that the grandchildren of adults in the United States will see communism in the United States.

It was observed during this first semiformal gathering that the Russians are very rigid on protocol, operating like a military echelon. During the discussions the persons with lower ranks will remain silent unless asked to speak.

MAY DAY IN MOSCOW

On the morning of May 1, 1958, Grechukhin appeared at the apartment with Sema Kuznetsov. She is single, about 38 years of age, speaks English and works with Grechukhin and Matkovsky in the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. She was subsequently a frequent visitor in our apartment.

Grechukhin stated that the Central Committee had honored my request for a ticket to the May Day parade. I asked for directions to the Red Square and was told that I would have to pass through three or four guards before getting to my seat and that there was a chance that persons from the various diplomatic corps might see me. There was no way possible to get me into the Red Square secretly. After learning this, I said that it was my decision not to attend the parade because of the need for security. They stated that they were happy with this most correct decision and that actually I could see the parade better on television.

In addition to watching the parade on television, I could see part of it from my windows. The main slogans carried on banners in the parade and banners decorating the city dealt with peace and peace for the world. One slogan urged the carrying out of decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to surpass the United States in production. Another slogan was "Long Live the Glorious Party of the Soviet Union." Another slogan was "Long Live the Party Which is Leading Us to Communism, the Dawn of Humanity." All slogans dealt with the supporting of the leadership and the issue of peace. There were none of the usual "Down with Imperialism" slogans.

I was convinced from the first days in Moscow, and particularly after viewing the May Day parade, that the Russians have destroyed the cult of the individual. There were no photographs of Stalin in the parade but there were photographs of Lenin or Lenin and Kirov together. There was no single photograph of Nikita Khrushchev. When his photograph appeared it was with other members of the Presidium and such photographs were few in number. The members of the Presidium are listed

alphabetically. I did not observe a photograph or a statue of Stalin in Moscow. I did see one mural of Stalin in a subway. Thus, up to a point, the Russians have destroyed the significance of Stalin. They have almost eradicated his name.

The military was not emphasized in the parade, although there were some missiles and motorized equipment. There were no aircraft in the parade. The emphasis was on peaceful pursuits and peaceful coexistence. In a speech Malinovsky stated that Russia is preparing for peace but is also prepared to meet any aggressors. The guest of the day was Nasser of Egypt.

MAY 2, 1958

Since May 2 is also a holiday in Moscow, Grechukhin and Matkovsky appeared at the apartment and said that I should take it easy on that day. They remained for supper.

Grechukhin suggested that I probably had a number of questions to raise with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He said that those questions should be framed as one Communist Party dealing with another Communist Party. Thus, I should formulate in writing those questions the American Communist Party wants to raise with the Secretariat or Presidium or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

ACTIVITY PRIOR TO THE FORMAL MEETINGS WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Several days were spent in preparing voluminous material on the Communist Party, USA, and current economic conditions in the United States and the questions to be presented to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on behalf of the Communist Party, USA. During these days discussions continued in the apartment with Matkovsky, Sera Kuzhetsov and Yuri Sergeovitch Ivanov, who replaced Grechukhin when the latter went to the United States. During this time I was also supplied with translations from the Government Information Service and translations of interesting articles in the Russian newspapers and magazines. The "London Daily Worker," which can be purchased in Moscow and throughout Russia, was also furnished to me. Occasionally, I was furnished a copy of "The Worker." I was told that only one copy of "The Worker" is sent air mail and it arrives about four or five days after it is mailed.

Yuri Sergeovitch Ivanov

Yuri Sergeovitch Ivanov is a translator in the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and it is believed that he also serves as a security officer. He speaks English with a British accent and at first was very formal. He carries the credentials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which open all doors at all times. He said that his mother is not a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. His father was a high-ranking military officer who was killed during World War II. He is married and has a daughter four years of age. He accompanied me on my tour of Russia.

Yuri's mother developed methods for the teaching of deaf and dumb children and later became an inspector of schools for the Russian diplomatic personnel. He lived with her in New Zealand where he learned English. Later, they were in China and passed through the United States from San Francisco to New York City after World War II. He has also been in England. He and his wife are both graduates of the Academy of Languages, the leading language school in Russia.

Yuri is trained to perfection in speech, dress, manners, et cetera. He was a "boy genius" and is well educated. He can recite poetry at length and knows most of the songs from "My Fair Lady." Except for the fields of art and music, he does not tolerate any criticism of Russian achievements. He is not as developed politically as are Grechukhin and Matkovsky. Both the wife of Grechukhin and the wife of Matkovsky are studying English, which is the number one language in Russia, next to Russian.

Discussions Concerning Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia

Every day I was in Russia someone from the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was in touch with me. Sometimes it would be one person, often it would be two or three persons. They would not only see that I received all the newspapers printed in Russian and whatever was published in English, but they would hold discussions with me. They would talk chiefly about political problems. If some important political article would appear in a magazine only in Russian, they would send Yuri Sergeovitch Ivanov to sit with me for hours at a time just translating this material for me.

The most important political problem was the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. They were very much concerned over whether or not I understood what was happening in Yugoslavia. They wanted to know how or what they could send to the United States, without violating any security, in the way of material that would help the American Communist Party to understand the struggle with Tito and the Yugoslavs. Grechukhin, Matkovsky and Sema Kuznetsov engaged in sessions with me in my apartment concerning this.

Much emphasis was placed on Yugoslavia at the beginning of these discussions. They showed me the most confidential documents which are circulating within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on this particular question. They would read them to me but they would take these documents with them. The Russians are really convinced that Tito is an enemy and that he has some understanding with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and that he also has some understanding with the Social Democratic Parties in England, Norway, Denmark, Italy and France, especially with France since he has been fighting with the French Communist Party also. They made allusions that Tito may have been a traitor all the time.

The Russians gave considerable time to the "war" with Tito. Next to their fight against imperialism and the so-called struggle for peace, this is the most important question for them. This is why there has been a renewal of the fight against revisionism. If Tito would have gone along with them, they probably would have dropped the fight against revisionism. They want to hold on to the other communist parties by showing that Tito has violated everything that is holy and significant in Marxism-Leninism. They say that Tito's betrayal goes back a long way. They blame it first of all on the history of Yugoslavia and its factionalism. They say that when there is factionalism the enemy is able to infiltrate. Then they go into the war situation and say that Tito had representatives from the British Government and contact with Winston Churchill through liaison personnel.

Not only did the Russians disown the program which was adopted by the Yugoslav communists, but they are even more angry regarding the speeches made at and subsequent to the the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. They blame Kardelj, vice chairman and theoretical leader of the Yugoslav communists. They refer to the speeches in which Tito praised the aid which Yugoslavia received from the United States

on a level above that of the aid Yugoslavia received from the Soviet Union. In other words, Tito praised the United States for the disinterested aid given to Yugoslavia with no strings attached and alluded, as did most of the Yugoslav leaders in their speeches at this Seventh Congress, to the pressures from the Soviet side when they gave aid or to the strings attached by the Soviet Government when they gave aid to Yugoslavia.

One other important thing that the Russians become enraged about is the idea of big power hegemony advanced by Yugoslavia with Tito as the moving force. According to Yugoslavia, the following is the meaning of big power hegemony: When Yugoslavia considers big powers it limits them to the United States and Russia. Yugoslavia says that these big powers are just looking out for their own interests and the little nations get caught in the squeeze as these powers contend for better positions in diplomacy or other relationships in the international arena.

Why should this Yugoslav concept of big power hegemony enrage the Russians? They interpret this to mean that first of all Tito puts the United States in the same category with the Soviet Union or the socialist camp. Since the Soviet Union is supposed to be the apostle of peace and American imperialism is supposed to be the apostle of war, how and why does Tito equate them? This idea of big power hegemony means that Russia and the United States would both be equally guilty in case there is war. This is a violation of one of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism, namely, that capitalism and imperialism generate war.

Another thing which enrages them and makes them very angry is that Tito places stress on the idea of many roads to socialism. Tito emphasizes, as does the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists and the other communist leaders in Yugoslavia, that while the Soviet Union was the pioneer subsequently many other countries have established socialism or at least the beginning of socialism. Besides, Russia was a backward country at the time the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. Consequently, some of this backwardness was inherited, not only in the economy but also in the political structure.

Furthermore, Tito states that in the capitalist countries the state is playing more and more of a role in the economy because of the world tensions since World War II. Thus, elements of socialism represented in forms of state capitalism are coming into being and this state capitalism has within it the groundwork or elements of socialism.

The biggest sin of all which the Russians charge to Tito is that he says that the communists should not claim a monopoly on leading the country or the people to socialism. According to the Russians, this means that Tito denies the most important principle of Marxism-Leninism and that is the need for a vanguard Communist Party. Only this vanguard Communist Party can lead the working class through the dictatorship of the proletariat to socialism.

They spent days with me on this question of Tito. Whoever I talked with would always come back to Tito and Yugoslavia. The Russians were supposed to give Tito a loan and were supposed to ship to Yugoslavia certain supplies and parts for factories which had been built in Yugoslavia by the Russians. However, the Russians have been holding up these shipments. Matkovskiy stated that Russia gave aluminum to Yugoslavia and all that the Russians received in exchange were pottery and prunes. Therefore, let Tito sell pottery and prunes to the United States and get his aluminum from the United States.

The Communist Party of China is also placing emphasis on the need to destroy revisionism and Titoism. The Communist Party of China has been very rough on Tito as a part of its own campaign of rectification. The Chinese have virtually no diplomatic relations with Tito. The Communist Party of Bulgaria had a congress which Nikita Khrushchev attended and at which he made some very sharp remarks about Tito. Many communist parties were invited to this congress. Representatives of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Labor Progressive Party of Canada were present. The point is that ordinarily hardly any other Communist Party would normally attend the Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, but at this congress many communist parties were represented. Bulgaria plays a strategic role in regard to Yugoslavia. The Russians felt that there might be a lot of pressure from Yugoslavia on Bulgaria and wanted the Communist Party of Bulgaria to know that other communist parties were behind them by getting other communist parties to pass resolutions against Tito.

Every day for about two months, in one or another Russian newspaper, but chiefly in "Pravda," an article would appear which had been written by a leading figure in another communist party. These articles dealt with the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. Only the Communist Party, USA, did not have such an article and thus they eagerly picked up a statement by Eugene Dennis on Yugoslavia and noted it in

the Russian press. Some newspapers reprinted Dennis' statement which appeared in "The Worker." The Chinese printed the full text of a statement by Dennis.

In addition to using the Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria as a platform against Tito, the Russians also had Nikita Khrushchev at the Congress of the Communist Party of Eastern Germany and also used it as a platform for mobilisation against Tito. Just as important was the Warsaw Pact Convention. Although only the industrial and later the international decisions were announced they also discussed Tito and condemned him.

The reason I placed stress on this is because it is almost an obsession with the Russians. They asked me if I knew how the people in the Communist Party, USA, will react to this. They asked if I knew whether John Gates has contact with the Yugoslavians. They wanted to know what Steve Nelson will do in view of this situation since he is a Yugoslavian.

After they read the confidential material of the Central Committee in regard to Tito, they told me that they had sent a copy of a letter dealing with Tito to the United States, specifically to Dennis. This was a letter just for members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was marked strictly confidential and each copy was numbered. I had to fight with them to make a few notes. It went into the confidential meetings between Khrushchev and Tito. It gave the reasons for the resumption of the discussions with the Yugoslavians in 1954 and the basis of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and the meeting in the Crimea between Khrushchev and Tito. It went into the argument between Yugoslavia and Russia. It stated that the Russians were willing to give publicity to some of the differences but Tito asked that this be suppressed since they had some understanding and there was no purpose in making these differences public. Tito said, "Let us not emphasize these differences." According to the letter, the Russians were willing to make these differences public at that time but Tito wanted them hidden.

The Russians also charge Tito with double betrayal because while Yugoslavia did not sign the declaration of the 12 communist parties, the Yugoslavian representative at the meeting of all of the communist parties in Moscow in December, 1957, did agree to the formulations of the Peace Manifesto which, for tactical reasons, was separate from the declaration of the 12 communist parties. The Yugoslavian representative signed the

statement of the 64 communist parties which blames imperialism for all the ills in this world, especially for being responsible for continued tensions in the world.

To sum up, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union feel that Tito has to be destroyed as an agent of imperialism. The fight against revisionism is a fight to keep the socialist camp united. Acceptance of the Soviet Party as the leading party is part of this. Loyalty of the socialist camp to proletarian internationalism is needed so that a united front can be presented against imperialism. Tito has sold out to American imperialism. Tito states that the socialist state has become a bureaucratic state. Thus, Tito has opened up the "under belly" of the socialist states and it is believed that he has reached some agreement with the United States.

Only on a theoretical basis can the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rally the other communist parties by showing that Tito violated Marxism-Leninism and then sold out to United States imperialism. Thus, all communist parties will have to condemn him. Practical measures are needed to isolate and to defeat him. The Russians want to isolate Tito so that he cannot open up a gate through which imperialism might break into the socialist camp.

SECURITY PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY THE RUSSIANS

It will be recalled that when word was first received that the Russians wanted a representative from the Communist Party, USA, to come to Russia, they stated that this representative would be guarded like someone representing the Communist Party of Iraq. They kept their end of the bargain. This has to be understood for the following reasons: My visit in Russia, my movements, my contacts with the top leadership were, to a large extent, limited by the fact that I had to live under the most extreme security conditions. I was not like a leader or representative from another communist party who could move around freely and make demands. The only questions they raised were in regard to security. Security not insofar as they were concerned, but security insofar as I was personally concerned and security insofar as the Communist Party, USA, was involved. The Russians told me that they were not afraid that something would go wrong and that the United States Government would start to yell. They said that they could take care of themselves, that they are strong. However, if something went wrong in regard to their security for me then I might be punished by the United States Government.

At no time during my entire stay in Russia was I by myself, not for one day. Even when I was alone in my bedroom, a housekeeper was present in the apartment. I sometimes ate alone since the employees do not sit around the table with persons in my position.

On some days the Russians would appear at my apartment and make suggestions for short trips. I would be taken to the car with the curtains drawn. I would be driven into areas with cobblestone pavements, into forests and into villages or other places where the average foreigner never goes. Yuri Ivanov or one of the others would always accompany me. More often than not I would not get to take a walk even though I was at places where only the Russians are permitted to go. I never spoke English in public places.

They took me into areas where factories were numbered and not named. On the way I passed by the famous prison camp, Lyubyanka. At another time I was about 35 miles outside of Moscow. I saw emplacements connected with missiles but no questions could be asked. I was told these were trenches from World War II. I noticed guns, factories, barracks, et cetera. They drove me through this area at a very rapid pace.

I saw a lot of ballet and theater. These trips were organized under the strictest security regulations. I never sat in the body of the theater. They would take me to a box, usually the director's box which is closest to the stage. I only sat in the rear row since those in the front row could be seen from the other boxes. In the Bolshoi Theater, I occupied a suite of rooms containing telephones, desks, et cetera. This suite was guarded by an usher. I would arrive 45 minutes before curtain time and would be led through the side entrance. The manager or assistant manager or director of the theater would hurriedly lead me to the suite of rooms. When the theater lights went out I would move into the boxes. I would either leave early or very late. Always two or three persons, such as Grechukhin or Ivanov, would accompany me to the theater.

The same procedures in regard to security were followed in all cities and in all places I visited in the Soviet Union, such as visits to museums, in addition to the theaters. They would arrange private visits to galleries and museums either after hours or on what they called free days when the museums or art galleries were closed. They did this so there would be no possibility of an accidental or a chance meeting with a foreigner.

During all the time I was in the Soviet Union, I was not allowed a penny in Soviet currency. Not until my trip to China was I given one kopeck of Soviet money. I do not want to imply that I lacked anything. I could ask for anything and it would be delivered. Even when I was at one of the out-of-the-way places and expressed a desire for anything--anything at all--the person with me would buy it.

The Russians watched my attire very carefully. I always wore a dark suit and usually a white shirt. I wore a sports shirt with the collar outside the coat when it was warm since this is the way the Russians wear them.

When I was traveling or was to go to a meeting, I wore a white shirt, necktie and a hat. The Soviet leadership dresses in the most formal manner. They wanted everybody to believe that perhaps I am an important person. They did not want me to dress much differently than they do. I have never been dressed so formally when traveling or moving around than I was while in the Soviet Union. This was the requirement.

They also told me how to walk. I would never put my hands in my pockets if I was wearing a coat. This is considered to be bad manners and besides it is also the mark of a foreigner. I could never wear a tie clasp and a fountain pen or handkerchief could not be in view.

SEVEN QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN AN
OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

On or about May 7, 1958, I presented a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in behalf of the Communist Party, USA. It consisted of about three and one-half single spaced, typed pages. The letter contained flowery greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It stated that this is the first time in a long time that the American Communist Party,

through a representative, has made contact and is present in the Soviet Union. I said that this visit had aroused deep emotions and I was sure that if Comrade Dennis and Comrade Foster and other comrades of the Secretariat of the Communist Party, USA, were present, they would extend their heartfelt greetings and would probably feel similar emotions as they watched the enthusiasm of the Soviet people following the leadership of the glorious Soviet Party and marching on the road of communism, et cetera.

I repeated that I was bringing the greetings of Foster and Dennis, the members of the Secretariat and also the comrades in prison who "extend the hand of proletarian internationalism through the bars and send you greetings." I also said that I was bringing special greetings from Comrade Paul Robeson.

The letter explained that the lack of contact was not due to a lack of desire on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party, USA. I stated in the letter that the American bourgeoisie has been doing everything possible to frustrate the establishment of our relationship and that the revisionists were their helpers. Under the false slogan of independence, the revisionists try to prevent the Communist Party, USA, from working with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The letter went on to state that the Communist Party, USA, had delivered some blows to the revisionists so that the political atmosphere has been cleared up. This made possible the contact with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The letter also stated that the Communist Party, USA, would have liked very much to have greeted Nikita Khrushchev on his elevation to the post of premier but in view of the various reactionary laws in the United States, the Communist Party, USA, cannot always express its feelings. Therefore, I am taking this occasion to congratulate Nikita Khrushchev on becoming premier of the U.S.S.R. It should be noted that I added this last statement because one of the questions presented in the letter dealt with the cult of the individual.

In the letter I emphasized the meaning of proletarian internationalism, stated that Marxism-Leninism is a universal thing and that the most experienced party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is a symbol of Marxism-Leninism and can be of great help to the American Communist Party. I said that proletarian internationalism is anathema to the bourgeoisie and their agents, the revisionists such as Gates and others. I told them that the Communist Party, USA, was ready to discuss a number of problems and to exchange information.

Questions Presented to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Behalf of the Communist Party, USA

In the letter I stated that the following questions are not in final form but will serve to indicate what the Communist Party, USA, would like to discuss with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (These questions may not be in the order in which they were originally presented to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)

- (1) What is the relationship between the parties?
- (2) In regard to the declaration of the 12 communist parties and the manifesto signed by the 64 communist parties, why were there two separate manifestos?
- (3) The question of a Party program and roads to socialism.
- (4) An explanation of the present economic and agricultural policies of the Soviet Union. For example, are the programs to decentralize industry and to abolish the machine tractor stations in agriculture being carried through successfully?
- (5) An explanation of the expulsion of Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and others. Since the revisionists questioned the correctness of the expulsion, what were some of their policies? What was their platform? The bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists say that whenever the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fights an opposition or expels someone it never prints any documents or refers to any speeches of the opposition. Could you please explain what this group stood for?

The revisionists also charged that the cult of the individual is coming back. While I, of course, stated that I had observed the very opposite of this, I said that the revisionists use the demagogic argument that the elevation of Comrade Nikita Khrushchev to the premiership, combined with the position of First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is a return of the cult of the individual.

- (6) With regard to the current recession in the United States and the world economic situation, how will this effect the drive for peace and peaceful coexistence? What is the possibility of an agreement with the United States? What is the

possibility of the spread of this economic crisis from the United States throughout the capitalist world and what would be the subsequent influence, either peaceful or aggressive, upon American imperialism?

(7) In regard to the Jewish question, there is a charge that the Soviet Union is violating the Marxist-Leninist concept of the national question, particularly in its relationship to the Jews. While the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, does not believe this, nevertheless this is a very pertinent tactical question for us and we would like to discuss this question with you.

Conclusions of the Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

In the closing part of the letter, I again repeated the greetings. I told them how nice it was to be in Moscow. I said that I had seen with my own eyes the fact that the cult of the individual is no more, that the people are following the Party, et cetera.

I told them that the Communist Party, USA, is having difficulties. I said that we are facing suppression and oppression and that we would like to get some material aid from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I said that the Communist Party, USA, is in a dire financial condition. I did not raise any amounts with them. I knew that this had to be discussed in general terms. I said that the Party is once again beginning to become a factor in the class struggle in the United States, particularly in regard to the fight for peace, in the fight to shift the burden of the economic recession upon the shoulders of the bourgeoisie, rather than upon the workers, farmers, et cetera. However, we are limited in our activity, in agitational work, because we do not have the financial means. I said the revisionists have sabotaged our income. This is why we have had to cut down on our activity although the possibilities are greater than ever before.

PREPARATION FOR THE FORMAL MEETINGS WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

While I was waiting for the meetings with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, I was asked by Nicolai Dimitrovitch Mathovskiy to give them a picture of the current situation both in the Communist Party, USA, and in the United States. With regard to the Party, I started with

the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, and prepared about 80 pages of material. I had to explain why there was a delay in kicking the revisionists out of the Communist Party, USA.

Matkovsky or Aleksei Grechukhin stated that the entire Communist Party of the Soviet Union, beginning with the leadership, was hungry for information from the United States but chiefly about the Communist Party, USA, and its activities. They stated that they are always in demand for lectures about the inner situation in the Communist Party, USA, as well as the general situation in the United States in regard to economics, politics, et cetera. They said that they are constantly being asked to lecture in various schools, academies and at Party meetings. They said that they are hard put to lecture because of a lack of complete knowledge of the activities in the Communist Party, USA, and in the United States. Matkovsky stated that he had lectured at Gorki on the situation in the Communist Party, USA. They admitted ignorance and a lack of knowledge of the details of the activities in the Communist Party, USA. They said that Tim Buck was in big demand as a lecturer while he was in Russia because he was somewhat acquainted with the activities in the Communist Party, USA.

I was told that before I met with the Party leadership I had to prepare them--acquaint them with facts. Even those who would participate in the discussions should be given some documents and the rest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be acquainted with the situation in the Communist Party, USA, and in the United States.

In this document of some 80 pages, I said, in a formal style, that I was bringing greetings from the Communist Party, USA, and pointed out why the Communist Party, USA, had not been in personal contact with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I said that the Communist Party, USA, had delivered the first blows against revisionism and explained why certain things happened as they did and why the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, could not get rid of revisionism before. I pointed out the effect of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union and the effect of the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Communist Party, USA. I told them that it was not enough for the Communist Party, USA, to merely pass resolutions since the Party could have been split and 90 per cent of the membership lost. I pointed out that the revisionists presented a danger in that they almost took over the Communist Party, USA, and the "Daily Worker" and explained how the "Daily Worker" became defunct.

I told them what had happened at the February meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, and what has happened since. I gave them a description of the so-called peace movement of the Communist Party, USA. They had received a letter on the peace movement in the Communist Party, USA, which had been sent to all districts of the Communist Party, USA, and had been signed by Arnold Johnson. I referred to this document.

They wanted me to give them the identities, insofar as I could, of all the members of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, and the attitude of these people in regard to the struggle in the Party. They wanted to know who are pro-Party people, who are the revisionists, who are the so-called ultraleftists and how these people vote at meetings. They asked me to explain the constitution of the Communist Party, USA. They asked what is meant by the right of dissent. They asked if this is a violation of democratic centralism and said that we are the only communist party in the world with this modified concept of democratic centralism. I said that future conventions would change this.

They asked me other organizational questions and questions about the Negro and labor movement, for example, the merger of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations, et cetera. They have a pretty good idea of the labor movement in the USA. They asked about the relationship of the Communist Party, USA, to the Latin American communist parties. I gave them a report on Latin America. I told them that the Communist Party, USA, wanted to raise some funds for the Communist Party of Guatemala. They knew very little about the Communist Party of Puerto Rico since they are out of touch with it.

They asked me about the economic situation in the United States. I prepared a 14-page typewritten document describing the economic situation in the United States on the basis of information from American magazines and American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations employment statistics which I had brought with me. They asked me for more information. They wanted to know about the role of the Communist Party, USA, in the economic situation in the United States and sent me an outline which Mitkovsky and B. N. Ponomarev, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had prepared. Yuri Ivanov translated the outline for me. Later I prepared still another document about the struggles of the Communist Party, USA, in regard to the American working class during the current recession.

This is why they were interested in the economic situation. They told me that they are having a very big debate in their own leading circles, including their scientific institution, as to the depth and the character of the economic recession in the United States. Some were of the opinion that this current recession is only a repetition of the 1953-54 recession in the United States. But most of the outstanding economists in Russia, including Varva, were of the opinion that this is a real cyclical crisis in the United States. They said that they were not yet ready to measure the depth of this recession or its possible effects or its influences upon the rest of the world, but they felt that it is quite different from the recessions of 1948-49 and 1953-54 and that it is a vital question.

Incidentally, a meeting with the economists in the Academy of Economy and Political Science was arranged for me so that we could engage in a debate and an exchange of opinions. However, this meeting never took place because I was rushed out of Russia upon my return from China probably because the Russians were aware of the pending developments in the Middle East.

They were very impressed with the information I furnished them.

They told me that they had translated everything I gave to them, not only in the written reports but also in the oral discussions which we had daily in my apartment. They said this material was put in the hands of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They said that this was invaluable information for the leadership and the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that they are now better acquainted with the American situation than they had been up to now.

FIRST MEETING WITH LEADING MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION

My first meeting with leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place on either May 21 or 23, 1958, and present were Otto Kuusinen, B. N. Ponomarev, P. M. Pospelov, M. B. Litvin, along with Tereshkin, Nikolai Litkovsky and Yuri Sergeevitch Ivanov.

On the day previous to the meeting, Nicolai told me when the meeting would be held and what the comrades would be interested in. When he told me who was to be present, I asked, is that all? He replied you have two secretaries of the Party, Kuusinen and Pospelov.

Nicolai also stated that they had received all the information I prepared and had read and studied it, therefore, I might save some energy by not repeating a lot of these things unless I felt that something needed explanation. Then Nicolai stated that there was one problem that I might put stress on because he was sure that the discussion would center around that problem. The Russians talked to me with deference, as an example, Nicolai said, what do you think about going into detail concerning the preparation of the program of the Communist Party, USA? I replied that I might deal with it in my introductory remarks. His question meant that I should prepare a document on the program of the Communist Party, USA.

I worked most of the night of the day before the meeting and prepared an eight and one-half page document dealing with the program of the Communist Party, USA. I then planned to limit my introductory remarks to this document. In this document I mentioned the fight with the revisionists in regard to the program and polemicized against the revisionist concept of a peaceful revolution and against the theory of the welfare state as propounded by Alexander Bittelman. I added some detailed information concerning the possible date when this program of the Communist Party, USA, would be completed.

Location of the Meeting

Yuri and Nicolai came by the apartment and we had lunch about 12:30 p.m. instead of the usual time of 2:00 p.m. Everyone was dressed formally. We drank a toast to the success of the meeting. We left early so as not to be late for the appointment at 2:00 p.m. The meeting was to be held in the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Staraya Ploshchad. We traveled in a closed sedan with the curtains drawn.

The headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union consists of three large buildings, numbered 1, 2 and 3. Building Number 3 houses various departments and hundreds of people worked there. Our meeting was to be held in Building Number 2. It is a very fancy building with heavy carpeting on the floor. There were two armed security

guards at each side of the door. They were in soldier's uniform with a royal blue band on the cap. They were carrying revolvers. No one can enter this building without a pass or without the credentials of the Central Committee. I was saluted as a dignitary. There were also two security men stationed at the automatic elevator. We went to the 4th floor and there was a security man at the door of the elevator on that floor. We proceeded down a large corridor, made two left turns and went into the outer office of Otto Kuusinen. There were two plain-clothesmen in the outer office. A door opened and we were called into a spacious office probably about 50 feet long and 30 feet wide. The room was furnished with a large table and soft chairs.

Introductory Remarks

When I entered the office Kuusinen stepped out and formally greeted me and told me in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that he is glad, glad that I had come over to meet with them, to talk with them and thanked me for the greetings of the American Communist Party.

I was introduced to all present by name and titles. First they asked me about William Z. Foster. They wanted to know about his health. They wanted a detailed description of his physical condition. I replied that Foster is in poor physical condition but that mentally he is as sharp as ever.

Then they asked me about Dennis. I said that he had been ill but that he has gotten over this illness. I said that the revisionists were really responsible for his illness because he had to be rushed to the hospital the day following the February, 1958, meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA. I said that he is all right now and is participating in daily Party work. They asked other questions about the health of individuals and made a few remarks about the old Comintern, et cetera.

Next, Kuusinen said that they had read the material I had prepared and again said that they wanted to thank me. He asked me how I would propose that we go about this discussion. How can we fix an agenda? I replied that I thought that I had raised some of the problems of the Communist Party, USA, in the letter I sent to them. He replied that he had read it and had the Russian translation in front of him. He reminded me that all members of the Central Committee had this material.

Remarks of the Representative of the Communist Party, USA

I proposed that instead of deciding on the agenda that we should follow the letter I prepared unless they had some problems to raise. When I told Kuusinen that I would start the discussion if he wanted me to, he indicated that I should proceed.

I started with formal greetings. I told them that the Communist Party, USA, is not dead. I said that while the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have reported the death of our Party, and while it is being harassed from within and without, it is very much alive despite all the pressures against us on the part of the bourgeoisie in the United States. I was asked if the Communist Party, USA, is a legal party. I said that de facto we are supposed to be legal--from the point of view of the law--but there are many laws which compel us to operate in a semilegal and illegal fashion.

Then I went to the question of the Party program and said that despite all these harassments, we are functioning. While we have not yet eradicated all the remnants of revisionism and while we also have some ultraleft groups which are playing the game of the enemy by using the method of factionalism and are making it more difficult to struggle against revisionism, nevertheless we are finding our bearings under the present leadership, which is united against revisionism.

So I introduced the general problems. There was a running translation by Yuri who sat at my side. As I talked he translated after every few sentences.

Remarks of Otto Kuusinen

Since the Russians participate according to rank, Kuusinen spoke first. He is about 71 years of age. He is a Finn and speaks Russian with a terrible accent.

Kuusinen said that he wanted me to deliver a message to Comrades Dehnbj and Foster and to the Secretariat of the Communist Party, USA, and to tell them first of all, that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is happy, very happy and glad that the Communist Party, USA, defeated the revisionists. This is the most important thing for them.

Then Kuusinen said, let us discuss this problem of program and then we will answer the questions which you placed before us. Then we will work out an agenda as we go along. He stated that he hoped that this would not be the last meeting, only the first meeting with me.

Next Kuusinen went into the program. He talked about Lenin's "State and Revolution" and about the necessity to smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie. He said that since the Russian Revolution we have had other roads to socialism. The Russian Revolution established Soviets. Some of the other countries have found new forms of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Theoretically speaking, it may be possible to achieve a peaceful transition to socialism. It will depend upon history and the relation of classes in your country. Whether it is peaceful or not, one thing is clear, you will have to have the dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter what you call it. He said, we know that tactically it is not good for you and might not be advisable for you to say the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Kuusinen pointed out that some form of the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be necessary. He again quoted from Lenin. He also asked me if I had studied other Party programs, especially the Italian Party program. He also asked me if I had studied the British Party program. I said that I had not but I had seen the Canadian Party program. He said, we are glad that the Communist Party, USA, is formulating a program because we were always under the impression that the document issued in 1954 had inadequacies although in the main it is not too bad. He was glad to hear me explain that there is a difference between that program and the basic program the Communist Party, USA, is now formulating.

Kuusinen stated that it is necessary to combine Marxism-Leninism principleness with tactical flexibility.

Kuusinen also stated that it could be that there is a parliamentary way to socialism and that the dictatorship of the proletariat might even express itself through some parliamentary method. However, you can decide such things only on the basis of concrete conditions. For example, the Italian Communist Party, which is a powerful party, has over one million members. It has control of the trade-union movement. It has a wide influence. One could say that it is the party of the proletariat in Italy. It has a large representation in parliament. There are some other parties in Italy that believe in, at least they say they believe in socialism. It is quite possible that under their circumstances and if there was no foreign intervention, that this party might transform the parliamentary agencies into the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. No matter what the form is, parliamentary or otherwise, they would have to defend the interests of the working class and the majority of the toiling masses first of all. But the Communist Party of Italy is further along than the Communist Party, USA. The Communist Party of Italy has wide influence.

We went into a long theoretical discussion about the people who argue against the dictatorship of the proletariat and who say that it does not represent the majority. Kuusinen said that this is incorrect. He said that no Marxist-Leninist party can hope to overthrow the bourgeoisie and take the road to socialism without having first of all won to its side the majority of the working class, and together with the working class, allies such as the poor farmer, some dignitaries, professionals, middle class elements, et cetera. So who would the working class speak for? It would speak for the majority of the people. Communists are not Putschists, that is they do not favor the Latin American type of revolution. The communists have to base themselves on the people. So whatever they would do they would do it in the interests of the majority. The communists would have already won a majority of the population either through popular struggle or elections, et cetera.

Again referring to Italy where a parliamentary road to socialism may be possible, Kuusinen said, I cannot tell you how the Communist Party, USA, should formulate the dictatorship of the proletariat for your country. He said, perhaps if you will come back to us when your program is formulated, we might be able to say more. However, we have to see how concretely you have placed the problem. We do not care what you call it. We have to take into consideration your problems and traditions. All we are saying is that there would have to be the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We cannot say at this time what road you should follow or what the form should be.

Remarks of Peter Pospelov

Peter Pospelov, who is about 65 years of age, is one of the secretaries and a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He is now playing the role that Mikhail Suslov played. I asked for a meeting with Mikhail Suslov and was told by Nicolai that Suslov was "very sick." It should be noted that right after May Day, 1958, Suslov's name completely disappeared in the Russian press.

Pospelov spoke longer than Kuusinen. He is the one who made the following remarks concerning the report of Nikita Khrushchev to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He said that when Khrushchev made his speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and talked about paths to socialism and different roads to socialism, including the peaceful path to socialism, he had in mind various communist parties in capitalist countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union felt that a number of communist parties were on

the griddle because of the issue of force and violence. Khrushchev was trying to ease the situation for these parties in capitalist countries from a tactical point of view; however, when Khrushchev, in the same speech, said that in some capitalist countries where there is a strong regime with military and police power at its disposal, the working class may have to fight and respond to force and violence, this applied specifically and concretely to the United States. The Communist Party can talk about different roads, but programatically there can be no illusion that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will not require force and violence to suppress the bourgeoisie who will resist.

No communist party in any capitalist country, particularly the United States, can hope to go through a transition to socialism without a dictatorship of the proletariat or, in essence, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be contained in the program of the Communist Party, USA. The dictatorship of the proletariat will be required in every country. The form it will take will depend on the relationship of the classes. The amount of force and violence required will depend upon the resistance of the bourgeoisie or ruling class. Pospelov stated that he understands the difficulties the Communist Party, USA, faces in formulating such a program.

Pospelov went into the question of force and violence and gave a considerable amount of historical details concerning the Russian Revolution. He reminded me that there were only nine casualties when they captured the Winter Palace. He also reminded me that before the Bolsheviks raised the slogan "All Power to Soviets" the Bolsheviks had already won the majority of the working class and they had formed the alliance, at least with the poor and middle peasantry, which made up the majority of the population. He said that all through the first stages of the revolution, this alliance was guarded. What he brought out was that the communists were not a minority. He said that they did have the backing of the majority of the population. What the bourgeoisie tried to do was to overthrow the regime of the majority with foreign help. Naturally, the regime of the majority is entitled to defend itself. Therefore, when the ruling class resists and refuses to accept the will of the majority, the dictatorship of the proletariat has to suppress them.

Pospelov went on to deal with the liberalism of the communist regime, even in regard to certain generals, during the first months of the Soviet revolution. He cited as an example that General Krashinov led a revolution against the Soviet regime. They captured him twice and then released him. He also mentioned how Kerensky sneaked out of the Winter Palace in women's clothing.

They did not care, they let him go. Since the Winter Palace was defended by the sons of the rich and the land owners, they had to bombard the Winter Palace. The increased resistance of the bourgeoisie and foreign intervention compelled the use of force and violence in the first stages of the revolution.

Pospelov said that he does not know whether or not the Communist Party, USA, needs force and violence. He said that he does not suggest that the Communist Party, USA, use the phraseology "force and violence." All that he is saying is that in formulating a program, in thinking of the future, the Communist Party, USA, has to be theoretically clear that the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary. The Communist Party, USA, may capture a majority of the support on the part of the workers and farmers. He does not know. But the revolution will have to defend itself. The bourgeoisie will resist and this is very likely. Then, of course, the Communist Party, USA, may have to use force and violence. This does not mean the Communist Party, USA, has to preach it. For tactical reasons, this is inadvisable. Then he quoted Lenin in regard to peaceful revolution. He also quoted from "State and Revolution" by Lenin in regard to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of force and violence. He, too, said that the program for the Communist Party, USA, should contain Marxism-Leninism principles with tactical flexibility.

One thing these leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demanded and one thing that they all stuck by was not the question of force and violence, but that some form of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be necessary. Therefore, we cannot create any illusions in the Communist Party, USA, by departing from this very cardinal Marxist-Leninist principle. What tactical forms we use, what language we use to describe this thing in order to keep us within the law, is up to the American Communist Party. When the Communist Party, USA, has its Party program written and prepared, they will be able to talk more concretely about our situation. Now they are just talking general theory.

Remarks of B. N. Ponomarev

Ponomarev, who is about 50 to 52 years of age, was the next speaker and repeated many things stated by the two previous speakers. He attacked revisionism, Tito, Bittelman and the theory of the welfare state. He stated that you cannot transform capitalism into socialism without resistance of the bourgeoisie. He again launched into an attack against Bittelman's theory of the welfare state. It should be noted, however, that the Russians do not take Bittelman's remarks seriously.

SUMMARY OF THIS FIRST MEETING OF LEADING MEMBERS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ADJOURNMENT

All the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union present at this meeting quoted from the Twelve-Party Declaration, from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and from current documents against Tito circulating in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in order to prove that you have to accept in their entirety what they called the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism. You have to say that you believe in the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and that includes the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, regardless of the form.

They said that the Communist Party, USA, is a revolutionary Party. It has to get rid of anybody who believes anything else. The Communist Party, USA, has to be a Party of Marxism-Leninism. It must win a majority of the working class to its side and must form alliances. It must have as its final aim the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The essence has to be there, no matter what form it takes. No other party can do this except the Communist Party, which raises the banner of Marxism-Leninism. No other party can be a vanguard party. You have to change property relations. By winning influence over the working class and by forming alliances with others, you establish the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which defends the revolution and the gains of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat defends the new social system. If anyone resists, you hit them back and do it in the name of the majority.

All of the above can be found in Lenin's "State and Revolution." The theory given to me in regard to the dictatorship of the proletariat is the same theory that was in existence 50 years ago.

We went on with this particular subject until about 7:30 p.m. This is unusual because the leading people in the Russian Party have regular hours. After everyone had their say and some questions went back and forth, I told them that this is the way we understand this problem in the Communist Party, USA. I stated, however, that it is necessary for them to keep in mind that we still have the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act and various state laws. They said, you will find a way of formulating it that will suit the situation in your country. The important thing is the acceptance of principle.

Kuusinen asked me very politely, what would you say if we would adjourn and resume in the future? Would I object? I said that I was here to discuss problems at their convenience.

SECOND MEETING WITH LEADING MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The second meeting took place the next day starting at about 3:00 p.m.

Relationship of the Parties

Kuusinen, who was in charge of these meetings, asked me what should be discussed on this day. I suggested that we take up the questions as they were phrased in my letter to the Central Committee. So I read the various questions from the letter. I said that I would qualify these questions by stating that they do not reflect the thinking of the Communist Party, USA, but are questions which are being raised by a certain body of public opinion in the United States.

It should be noted that since policy is always the basic problem, the matter of program was the first thing discussed at the first meeting.

The first question which came up for discussion was the relationship of parties. Again, they said that they had read the material I had prepared. They asked what I had to say about the relationship of parties. I said that it was necessary, first of all, to establish regular contact. Secondly, it was necessary that each Party be informed on the activities of the other Party. Citing an example, I stated that we very often get the news of your problems and debates, et cetera, out of the capitalist press, particularly "The New York Times."

I stated that we think that a good number of Party leaders and members of the Communist Party, USA, believe that if you have some problems that are going to be aired publicly or problems which may not be aired publicly at the moment but will be aired publicly later, then you should give us some indication of this. We should get it before the bourgeoisie press because very often the bourgeoisie press distorts the facts. As a result, we cannot have the right perspective.

I also stated that we in the Communist Party, USA, feel that during the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we might have gotten the information about this

Congress earlier. Another thing is that if we are going to have a Party relationship, the Soviet Party should not create the impression that it is backing this or that individual in the Communist Party, USA. I said that they must take into consideration the collective opinion of the Party.

In regard to the latter, they asked for concrete examples. I said, you printed some articles by William Z. Foster. You did not ask if this was the opinion of the majority of the leadership, particularly that section which is pro-Party. I said I was not talking about the revisionists. I said that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should ask if this is a collective opinion or if it is an article of an individual. I said the printing of Foster's articles indicates that you are supporting Foster. This does not improve the authority of Dennis or the rest of the leadership.

I raised the problem of the article by Ponomarev in which he attacked John Gates. I said that the Communist Party, USA, got this article from a reading of "The New York Times." Further, "The New York Times" gave this information to Gates immediately. However, you did not send us an immediate translation of this article.

I also told them that they created problems for the Communist Party, USA, when D. Shevliagin wrote the article regarding William Schneiderman and Abe Magil. I said that this was not right. I told them about the arguments of Magil and said that as a result of this type of situation we had to pass a motion in the national executive committee that only the national committee speaks for the Party, not each individual.

Ponomarev admitted that Shevliagin made a mistake. He said that Shevliagin had no business in writing the article in the manner in which he did. He said that in the future such things will be rushed to the American Communist Party and if such articles are written names will not be mentioned.

Then they asked me for more specific cases. I told them that Dennis complained that when they reprinted articles sent in by Foster and other individuals it just gets us in dutch with the law because some phraseology in these articles is dangerous. They said that they would look into this, that perhaps this is not the way to do it.

They reminded me that when Foster sent in his latest article, he had some criticism of Dennis. They stated that they had censored the article by cutting out personal attacks

and other parts of the article. They stated that they will see to it that things similar to those I mentioned will not happen in the future now that we have established a relationship.

On the Relationship Between Foster and Dennis

Kuusinen asked me to speak frankly and objectively concerning the fight between Dennis and Foster. He asked if they have serious differences. He said, "We won't hold it against you, tell us frankly." I did what Dennis asked me to do. I said that I have the greatest regard and respect for Foster, as does the majority of the Party. I said that comrades are of the opinion that since Foster is divorced from daily activity he does not always know what is happening in the ranks. While he sometimes does raise general problems correctly, he has no solutions to problems because he is out of touch.

Continuing, I said that even prior to his heart attack, Foster attended meetings of the national committee only occasionally and would leave early. I said that there is an opinion among the majority of the group which is pursuing the present line against revisionists that Foster should not have separated himself from the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA. I said that the majority of the Communist Party, USA, repudiated the political action association prior to the 16th National Convention. The body of opinion in the Secretariat and in the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, is that Foster should have backed Dennis. They complain that Foster is too rigid and too doctrinaire.

I also stated that there is a body of opinion that Foster, considering his age and illness, does not bring younger persons into the leadership. Further, it is felt that sometimes he could compromise on a tactical problem as long as there are not differences of principle. I said that this is the opinion of many. I reminded them that even Ben Davis and William Weinstone, who are followers of Foster, criticized Foster, even though mildly, for his lack of tact at two meetings of the national committee.

I stated further that even though Foster is now under attack by the ultraleft, there is a body of opinion that Foster gave encouragement to the ultraleft and, thus, encouraged factionalism. I said that in the main, this was the opinion of the people who make up the core of the leadership.

In conclusion I said that at the present moment I can say that there are no principle differences between Foster and Dennis and that the Foster followers joined with Dennis at the February plenum and voted for the Dennis resolution at that national committee meeting. I stated that there may be some differences on tactics or emphasis on interpretation, but these cannot be considered differences in principle.

In the discussion, the Russians talked of the need for unity between the Dennis and Foster forces. They said that they thought that Foster conducted a heroic struggle against revisionism. They take into consideration that Foster is incapacitated. They think highly of William Z. Foster, who is the best known Communist Party, USA, leader in Russia. They realize, however, that for all intents and purposes Dennis is the practical, day-to-day leader of the Communist Party.

The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union listened respectfully to my remarks in this regard. They asked me whether Foster is still the chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA. I said that he was.

I told the Russians that Dennis' title is just plain secretary. I then named the various secretaries again and said that Dennis is accepted as the first secretary but does not have the title. I said that it would be very bad to announce titles at the moment since the revisionists might utilize this to start another fight.

Kuusinen and Pospelov did most of the talking on this subject. I got the idea that they are backing Dennis. They asked me if Foster could come to Russia. They said that they want to take care of him medically and otherwise. I said that such a trip would be very difficult for Foster. I said that he is too sick to move around unless he has improved considerably. Secondly, that there is another test case in regard to a passport for Rockwell Kent and Dennis told me they would wait for this decision. Thirdly, there is the legal problem in regard to the Smith Act. I said that if all of the above obstacles could be taken care of Foster would undoubtedly come to Russia.

It is noted that this meeting took place before the United States Supreme Court decision in regard to passports.

Exchange of Information by the Communist Party, USA and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

It was agreed that later we would work out details whereby certain news from some of their inner documents and journals which do not circulate in the United States, such as "Party Organizer" and "Party Life," would be sent to the Communist Party, USA. They were going to introduce me to the head of the Information Bureau and he in turn was going to appoint someone to pay attention to all news which would interest the Communist Party, USA. He was going to be on call for "The Worker." He would be the correspondent of the Communist Party, USA, in Moscow. However, the head of the Information Bureau was removed so arrangements could not be made. If I had stayed in Russia longer a meeting probably would have been arranged with the new head of the Information Bureau. They may still go ahead with this arrangement without a meeting in regard to it. In other words, they were going to improve the news relationship, the exchange of information, et cetera. I think that such an improvement will be made.

In regard to the complaint that the Communist Party, USA, receives news of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union too late, they asked me why the Communist Party, USA, does not have correspondents in Moscow. I told them legal difficulties prevent this. We agreed that special items would be sent to me for the Communist Party, USA, through Canada.

The Question of Decentralization of Industry and the Abolishing of the Machine Tractor Stations

I had asked whether there is an improvement in agriculture as a result of the change in regard to the machine tractor stations. They all spoke on this problem and indicated that they are making tremendous progress in agriculture. They said they are developing agriculture rapidly. They cited facts, statistics and so forth to show how this change has developed the initiative of the mass of technicians, as well as the farm workers. They suggested that in order to get more facts I should go into the collective farms, talk to anybody I wanted to and let them tell me what is going on. I did this on my tour of Russia.

They cited some agricultural areas where there has been an increase in income and well-being of the farm population. They stated that some farmers have even given up their private plots of land since it does not pay them to spend time on them any more. Then they mentioned a very important fact. This is

that until recently--a year or a year and a half ago, no earlier-- there was a trend away from the farm. Young people would graduate from high school and then would go to the larger cities. They claimed that they have reversed this trend in a lot of regions. They cited one area where the majority of the graduates from high school remained on the farm and many chose professions which could be utilized in the area.

Until recently, graduates would go out and obtain jobs in the cities where they studied, such as Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad. Now, they are trying to get commitments before students graduate and encourage high school graduates to go into factories for a couple of years. They make it easier for people who have had industrial training to obtain higher educations by granting them scholarships, privileges and so forth. This is how they have managed to keep some youngsters in local industry and on the farms. Then they give them opportunities and promotions later. They believe that this experience does the youngsters some good. Khrushchev referred to this at the last convention of the Young Communist League. He reminded those present at this convention that things in Russia were not always so nice. He reminded them that their fathers had to work and to fight for a living and that they have a revolutionary heritage. He also stated that not all graduates of schools and not all people can be white collar workers or professionals. Workers are necessary too. Thus, they are putting pressure on young people to go into industry and to combine their education with practical training. In this regard they were not talking of night schools or trade schools, but were talking of higher educational institutions.

I asked a similar question in regard to the decentralization of industry. They used to have a very complicated apparatus. The ministries of various industries were all stationed in Moscow. If a machine shop in the Urals needed a certain part, a certain die or a certain tool, the director would have to get in touch with the ministry in Moscow, which would locate the item in some factory through another ministry. They cited examples of this and said that they have cut out nine-tenths of the red tape. They stated that at the present time, in many cities where a machine shop needs something, the director of the shop may know that a factory in the same city is producing this item. So he goes directly to that factory, puts in the order and obtains the item. The other factory does not have to take this up with the ministry. Thus, they have given more responsibility to the republics, both locally and regionally. All of this is based on a master plan.

They stated that the basic plan of industry which is worked out by the central government in advance has not changed. They went to great lengths to explain new achievements in industry, the elimination of bureaucracy and red tape, et cetera.

They also went into the question of reducing the work week and hours of employment, and the development of automation. They said that they operate differently than the capitalist countries in regard to the introduction of automation since they do not do it at the expense of the workers. They try to introduce new machinery and techniques instead of a speed-up. The cutting of the workweek is based upon such new methods of production so that the workers will have more leisure time. They told me to study this when I visited the factories. Then they cited some examples of increases in the standard of living.

Also with regard to the farm question they cited examples of the cutting down of red tape. One example was the elimination of the tax-in-kind on the small garden plots allowed members of the collective farms.

They stated that since they have abolished the machine tractor stations, the farms buy their own machinery. The tractor stations merely service them. They explained that in the old days when the time came to plow all the collective farms put in requests for tractors at the same time and dates had to be set by the machine tractor stations. But now that the collective farms are buying their own machinery they can set their own time, not only for plowing and sowing, but also for harvesting, so that efficiency increased many folds as a result of the new policies.

When I took the trip through Russia and went to the farms and factories I had to ask these questions again and the answers I received at this meeting were verified.

The Cult of the Individual and the Ousting of Molotov, Malenkov, Zhukov, et cetera

The question of the cult of the individual came up in the discussions. They did not say anything new. They repeated what was said at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In discussing Nikita Khrushchev, they said that it is just a gladder to say that the cult of the individual is returning. They pointed out that they work collectively. They said that never in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the days of Lenin have they had so many meetings

of the Central Committee where the members of the Central Committee participated in making decisions and discussions are held. Matters are discussed and debated. There is never a one man decision.

They asked who led the fight on the cult of the individual? Who started the expose? Nikita Khrushchev did and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union knows it. They further explained how decisions are made collectively. They said that they do not play up an individual. They stated that if you will study the history of Stalin's role, you will find that he had just as much power before the war but by that time he had built up the cult of the personality. There is no such thing at the present time. They told me that when I went into the districts I should ask the district leadership if they participated in making decisions. They again said that decisions are collective decisions. I told them that I knew this but I was just raising this and wanted their viewpoint.

This led to a discussion of the opposition. They charge that Molotov was a cantankerous doctrinaire. They said that from the day Stalin died Molotov refused to budge. They said that Molotov had given encouragement to Beria, who had ambitions of recreating a cult of the personality. They blamed everything on Beria, including the trumped-up charges, the trials, et cetera.

They stated that the opposition had a faction going all the time and this faction had no program. It was just an organized factional opposition. Every time the collective leadership, led by Khrushchev, would introduce a new proposal, such as the decentralization of industry and collective farming, the opposition would just argue in a negative way without a program. The opposition said that we should merely increase the area under cultivation when we first suggested reforms in the collective farms.

They said when Khrushchev introduced the question of raising the standard of living so that it would be as high as that of the United States in giving the people meat, butter, milk, eggs, et cetera, Molotov charged, as did his helpers, Kaganovich and Shepilov, that we were pursuing a partisan policy. The opposition said that we were scuttling our heavy industry and were putting emphasis on light industry and consumer goods. This was a falsehood and a lie.

They said that they had solved their bread, grain and corn problems. The United States can answer at us and say that we cannot grow corn in certain areas, but we have certain strains of corn and grain which can be grown in the coldest areas. Where we want to grow corn for silage we grow one type of corn. Where want tall stalks we raise one type of corn. We have developed seed just as good as that in the United States for our different purposes. But there is another problem. We had to guarantee once and for all that our agricultural products could not be affected by some kind of a drought taking place in this or that area. Last year we had a severe drought affecting the entire Volga area. However, the new, virgin soil area was not affected and production from it made up for the loss of production in the drought area. The opposition did not want to understand this.

Then these Russian leaders stated that the opposition was offered opportunities to bring a written program of their own to the Party and to the people. I asked them about the debate in the Central Committee. I said that there is a charge that you have not printed any document showing the stand of the opposition or anything saying that they had a chance to present their views. They replied that Molotov took the floor six times during the debate. The same applied to others. Furthermore, meetings of factory workers were organized and the opposition was told to go to those meetings with their program. Figures were given of how many workers were organized in such meetings in Moscow. They said the opposition used to urge Party people to cast negative votes. They asked what could we do? The workers just rejected the carping, negative criticism of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich and charged them with factionalism. We had no course but to denounce them, to oust them, so that we could go ahead with our work. Further, to say that they had no possibilities of talking to the Party is wrong. We gave them possibilities. They were rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Party. There are fewer negative votes now than at the time of the cult of the individual. Then they told me to ask the people in the outlying districts what their reaction was to Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich.

They said, why shouldn't the people support us? Then they reviewed their policies again. They asked, have we increased the standard of living in Russia in the last number of years? Have we increased productivity? Have we made it easier for the farmer? Of course we have.

They asked, haven't we carried through a foreign policy that the people accept? They charge Molotov for increasing tensions at the time of his expulsion. They blame Molotov for preventing a better relationship between Yugoslavia and Russia. They said Molotov carried things too far. He said you cannot deal with their hirselings of fascism in Yugoslavia. Later on when proposals were made for discussions with Tito they asked Molotov and his group, what do we have to lose? Let us test them. Let us start negotiations. If he is a real fascist, he will prove it. Why are you afraid of discussion? They said that we felt that discussions were worth a try in order to bring about some understanding with Tito. If this had not been done the friction would have continued and the people would have blamed the leadership. These discussions were held with Tito only as an attempt to reach an agreement with Tito.

In regard to the policy of peaceful co-existence, they said that if they would have followed Molotov they would have had no elbow room. Molotov did not understand the role of these semicolonial and colonial countries and the role they can play in the present struggle against imperialism. They charged Molotov with all of these crimes.

In regard to Zhukov, they said that he did not understand the role of the Party. He was purely a military man. More than that, he would place obstacles in the way of the Party in regard to the carrying on of political leadership so that the army would know who the real enemy is and would understand the value and worth of Party leadership. Now, however, the armed services are once again under the complete leadership of the Party, are ideologically sound and are participating in the political life of the country and are understanding the policies of the Party and the government.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

On the question of the economic crisis in the United States, they said that some of them are of the opinion that there is a cyclical crisis in the United States and that the economic situation in the United States is worse now than it was in 1953-54. They suggested that I talk to economists and go into detail. They are convinced that this recession in the United States will spread. They cited various theories of economists by name. They said that they have had debates among Russian economists in regard to the present economy in the United States.

In regard to the question of what the United States is going to do, they said that they had decided to take me into their confidence. They said that they wished they knew. They are going to try to do everything possible to try to keep the United States moving in a peaceful direction so that it will not solve the economic problems it faces by engaging in military adventures. They said, however, that they cannot control this. Therefore, this is why they fight for peace or peaceful coexistence and at the same time are prepared for any eventualities. They said that they are going to make propositions that the people of the world will understand and the people of the United States will understand. Thus, they will place the onus of war on the heads of the American bourgeoisie.

They said, we are now discussing in our leadership the sending of a letter to the United States proposing trade. We are going to outline what we could use and what we could buy. Of course, we are going to show that we are not just going to buy. That is, we will raise the question of credit--not that we need it but we will raise it. We will put over the idea to the American people that we want to trade and want to live in peace. Also, that the people of the United States could solve their unemployment problems by dealing with Russia. Further, that the people in the United States have an interest in peace. They asked me to keep in mind that this is just a decision that they are discussing in the leading Party committees in the government. They said that this is the way they are going to carry on their struggle to win the minds of the people for peace.

They issued orders to make arrangements for me to meet with various professors, economists and academicians to raise economic questions with them. However, we never got to this meeting.

They asked questions about unemployment and whether the workers can make ends meet on unemployment insurance. Pospelov and Ponomarev were interested in some of the details. They did not know how the unemployment compensation acts work. They did not know how many weeks it lasted and that it was also connected with state laws and that it varied according to states, et cetera.

They did not go into any deep discussions concerning the economic situation except to emphasize that the American economy is shaky and that the rate of their growth is phenomenal and that the rate of growth in the United States has slowed down. They are convinced that they have beaten the United States in some fields and that their rate of growth and the inevitable capitalist crisis guarantee the economic victory of socialism.

The second meeting adjourned at this point.

THE THIRD MEETING WITH THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The third meeting with the leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held on May 27, 1958. We met until about 6:00 p.m. All of the previous participants were present except Tereshkin.

The Jewish Question in the U.S.S.R.

The third meeting began with the Jewish question. Kuusinen introduced Mitin and gave his titles, his capabilities, his responsibilities, et cetera. Mitin is Jewish.

Mitin went all the way back and blamed Beria for the plots against the Jews and other nationalities. In regard to the "doctors plot" he said that the majority of the doctors were not Jewish. He mentioned by name current poets, playwrights and actors who are Jewish and said that he was friendly with them.

Mitin wanted to prove that there is no need for a separate Jewish culture in Russia. He went into the question of Jewish authors and writers. He stated, however, that even now they have Jewish theatrical groups which tour the country and perform before all audiences in Jewish only. He mentioned Jewish authors and said that they have translated their books into the Russian language and that they are read by millions of people. He said that some Jewish language Russian dramas get large audiences. He stated, however, that if they were to propose the establishment of a Jewish newspaper most of the Jews would object. They would not read it. He said the new generation has no conception of the language. He said that the Jews would be the first ones to protest a Jewish language newspaper. He stated that Russian has become the language of the Jews in Russia. While the Jews are not compelled to accept the Russian language, the newer generation does accept it. He said, we do not ask the nationality of people. Then he listed the Jews who are in leadership and asked me if I wanted to meet these Jewish leaders. He said that he could give me a list of hundreds of generals, Party leaders, leaders of industry, et cetera, who are Jewish. Pospelov also said that Mitin could give me these names.

I told the Russians that the Communist Party, USA, has a subcommittee consisting of V. J. Jerome, Jim Jackson, Jack Stachel, Hy Lumer and Carl Winter which is trying to find answers to the Jewish question in Russia. I said I thought that I could get some tactical help from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I said I was told to ask about the statement in regard to the Jewish question in the Soviet Union which was attributed to Khrushchev and which appeared in "Figaro." They said that the statement attributed to Khrushchev was a fake and that it was just an imaginary story concocted by some French journalist.

With regard to the pro-Arab policy of the Soviet Union, I said that there are stories circulating in New York City, where we have a large Jewish population, to the effect that the Soviet Union is pursuing an oil policy in the Mideast. Pospelov said, we do not need the oil. He asked, who needs oil? He said we have discovered oil fields. Why should we pursue an oil policy? He said, all we are doing is supporting people in their fight against imperialism. We can drown them in oil. He said that these letters are concocted by Zionists to put us in a bad light. He said, you know Baku means nothing. We have thousands of such oil fields in the Soviet Union. Everyone present participated in this discussion.

Then they discussed Birobidjan. They said that there are possibilities there. They asked if I wanted to go there. I did not want to since it is on the Manchurian border and is a wild country, one of the remotest parts of Siberia. They said that the "Star," a paper which is published twice a week in Birobidjan, will be made available in the United States.

They said that the Jews are absorbed in the population and live as Soviet citizens. They said, we have offered them opportunities and it was the Jewish population that rejected them. They said that the Jewish people in Russia would not want to return to a modified ghetto.

I said that they should raise the problem differently so that we could understand it. I told them that the revisionists are responsible for some of the letters in regard to the Jewish question and that they stir up the Jewish question in the Communist Party, USA. I said, of course, it would be the revisionists who would give assistance to the imperialists.

I raised the Jewish question for a propaganda point of view. It is a very sensitive spot with the Russians. It has caused them grave concern and problems. In spite of all the discussions I received no satisfactory answer on this.

The Russians should have admitted persecution of the Jews but they would not. In my opinion, I found no Jewish life in Russia. Kiev is the city where you would expect to find most of the Jewish life but I did not find a trace of it.

There is a charged atmosphere concerning the Jewish question in the provincial areas. While it is true that I ran into some Jewish Party leaders in some of the districts, they are very few in number. I could tell that in some of the places where there were some Jewish people that they wanted very much to talk to me but they avoided it. I could tell by looking at these people that they wanted to talk with me.

General Discussions Concerning Funds for the Communist Party, USA

I gave the Russians a description of the financial difficulties in the Communist Party, USA. They told me that the Central Committee would be acquainted with this situation. They instructed me to meet with Ponomarev and Matkovsky to work out the financial details.

At this time it was stated that any money provided would not be from the government of the U.S.S.R. but would be taken from an international fund which is supplied by Party members in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other communist parties. They emphasized that this money would not be from government funds. They told me that I should devise ways and means of distributing this money so that the source would not be disclosed.

It is noted that for the record the Russians stated that this money does not come out of the treasury of the U.S.S.R. but that it comes from certain funds to which Party members contribute. This was re-emphasized in meetings with Ponomarev where the details were worked out in regard to the sum that would be sent to the Communist Party, USA.

We did not go into any specific amounts at this meeting. They said that they were favorably disposed to give financial help but that they would have to present the proposition to the Central Committee. I thanked them for the help they had given in

the past and said that we in the Communist Party, USA, are certain that once again they will help our Party. I cited some examples of programs which require funds, such as the struggle for peace.

General Discussions

During a general discussion they asked what could have happened to a guy like Joe Clark. This brought on a discussion on the world situation. I told them that Clark's opinion was that American imperialism is not aggressive. I said that Clark agrees with Joe Starobin. They knew that Starobin is supposed to be the ideological mentor of Clark.

They asked about Howard Fast. They said that these revisionists are dirty skunks, the chief enemies. They said there is only one aggressive power and that is United States imperialism. They said that American imperialism wants to conquer the world; therefore, the Communist Party, USA, was correct in the rejection of the point of view of Clark. They called Fast a Zionist agent. They said that he sent a lawyer to Russia for an accounting of his royalties. They said that they had given Fast thousands of dollars but Fast thought that it was not enough. They asked if Fast has ever contributed to the Communist Party, USA. I said that I was sure that he did not contribute to the Party in recent years and that he claimed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union owes him thousands of dollars.

The meeting ended in small talk about various people and personalities and some questions. One of the questions was as follows: Some of your generals make insane statements. Do you believe that they would be mad enough to start a war with us? Don't they understand that we would crush them? That this would be their last fight? Don't they know what we will do with them? We think we can lick them peacefully but if they start a fight we have the most destructive weapons. They did not go into what they would do or what weapons they have, but they tried to get me to feel that they have the most destructive weapons and that there is no question but that they would win and destroy Europe and hurt the United States. I said that the American people do not believe in war. I also said that I did not know whether the Government of the United States knows the military capabilities of the Soviet Union.

Nothing very startling was said in regard to foreign policy. They talked with a passion about the question of their destructive power and just could not understand why the people in the United States or why the leading circles in the United States do not understand that they would get hurt if they started a war.

They also emphasized that there are many contradictions in the bourgeoisie world. They said that the British are reluctant partners of the United States. They said that American imperialism united with the French and British and the American imperialists have become the inheritors of the colonial loot of the French and British. It is, therefore, their conclusion that this coalition will break up.

They also said that the political life in the United States is not without contradictions. They said that there are even contradictions among the ruling classes. I said that the Republicans and Democrats have differences on domestic programs but there are large degrees of agreement on foreign policies, the cold war, et cetera. They said that they would not put all the people in the same camp. They cited Cyrus Eaton, Adlai Stevenson, Wayne Morse, Mike Mansfield and others. They said that maybe the opposition is small but it exists. Since it exists it was felt that their opinions may be shared with others. Therefore, the Communist Party, USA, should learn how to take advantage of these contradictions and to utilize them. This was sort of tactical advice. They said that some sections of the bourgeoisie are more intelligent than others and see how destructive war would be and that the United States would also be hurt. Thus, capitalism might last longer in peacetime.

They repeated that as long as you have principleness you can afford to be tactically flexible. As long as you understand the full meaning of the ruling classes then you can take advantage of their contradictions without submitting to any illusions that this or that section of the ruling class will save you or will peacefully or voluntarily accept and consent to socialism. They were advancing this idea of taking advantage of contradictions in the ruling classes only in regard to the cold war, peaceful coexistence and the easing of world tensions.

They consider the fight for peace as they call it one of the most important tasks of the American Communist Party. The most important task for the Communist Party is the fight for economic demands of the workers. The next most important

task is the fight for peace. I noticed that when you talk to people in the factories the first thing that they mention to you is the question of peace.

By way of comment, it can be stated that despite the size of the Communist Party, USA, the Russians are counting heavily on it and they would like to build it up if they could. No matter what happens to the Communist Party, USA, the Russians are not going to worry about this or that personality, but they are going to worry about how close the Communist Party, USA, policies are to those of the Soviet Union. They do not care if there is only a handful of people in the Communist Party, USA. If this handful of people has a policy which is akin to theirs this is the group which will win their support. At this stage the Russians are not too concerned about the size of the Communist Party, USA. The Chinese are completely unworried about the size of the Communist Party, USA. While the Chinese belittle size, the Russians do not. However, the Russians mainly want a Party in the United States which accepts the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and is 100 per cent loyal to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is what they want and they will do everything possible to give support to such a Party.

The people in Russia are very interested in the United States and are studying English. Both Matkovsky and Ponomarev stated that "The Worker" is superior to the "London Daily Worker" in approach. They have ordered 3,000 copies of each edition of "The Worker" and will utilize "The Worker" in the teaching and understanding of English.

MEETINGS WITH B. N. PONOMAREV IN REGARD TO
FUNDS FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Before I left Moscow for a tour of Russia, I met with B. N. Ponomarev, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, twice and we discussed finances in great detail. It was at the first meeting that I requested \$217,000 for the Communist Party, USA. At the second meeting with only Nicolai Matkovsky present, Ponomarev said that he would make the total a sum of \$200,000 for the Communist Party, USA, for the period from the present until the end of 1958 at which time it could be discussed again.

At this time I told him that while we were talking our people in the Communist Party, USA, were starving. I asked him for an emergency sum. This is when he told me that they

had already sent \$10,000 to Alexander Trachtenberg after I had been in Moscow only one week and would send another \$10,000 to Canada at once for ultimate transmittal to the Communist Party, USA.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
GREAT BRITAIN IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A number of leading members of the Communist Party of Great Britain were in Moscow for a vacation during the time I was there. The Russians housed them in summer homes in the woods and suburbs outside of Moscow. These places are surrounded by wooden fences. Guards are at the door. You have to have identification of some kind or a pass to enter. Militiamen patrol the area on foot. You would probably find a policeman each one-half block in that area. The only persons who can get in are those who show an identification from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or who are in an auto belonging to the Central Committee.

Margorie Pollitt, wife of Harry Pollitt, was there. [redacted] (phonetic), a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain, was also there. I talked to him at a dacha (summer cottage) outside of Moscow. Aleksei Andreevich Grachukhin of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union told me it was inadvisable that anyone else see me.

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NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

A new communist international magazine will be published in Prague, Czechoslovakia, starting on or about September 1, 1958. It is to be called "For Peace and Democracy." Actually, it is more than a magazine. It is going to be a sort of Cominform in disguise. Most of the communist parties are sending leading people to Prague so that they can hold international conferences. They will place on the agenda of these conferences a particular country depending upon the situation at different times. For example, if there is a certain situation existing in the United States they will have on the agenda a report from somebody representing the United States on the magazine. This spokesman would speak officially for the Communist Party of the United States. Actually, it is an international communist organization whose representatives on the magazine will have sort of potentiary powers for their respective communist parties.

This is not a secret. It was mentioned many times by almost everyone I talked with both in Russia and in China. Korianov (phonetic) is in the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and is now in charge of the Russian delegation in Prague for the magazine called "For Peace and Democracy."

MOSCOW

While in Moscow and not engaged in political discussions, reading or preparing material, I was taken for rides, a walk in a remote area, to the theater or to a movie. I saw such films as "Quiet Flows the Don," "The Idiot," "1918" and "Cinerama," which is called "Panorama" in Russia and has been well developed. The Russians are flooding the market with films, which are not only superior to anything they ever made before, but are of a very high quality. While all of them contain propaganda, some are like Hollywood musicals.

I went to the ballet twice in Moscow. Someone would whisper translations to me. I went either with Yuri Ivanov, Aleksei Grechukhin and his wife, or Sema Kuznetsov. We would sit in the rear rows of boxes and sneak in at the time the bell rang for the performance.

I saw the Lenin Museum and the Gorki Museum in Moscow with Sema. I visited the Kremlin on one of the off days. The Commandant met me at one of the gates and issued the order that it should be opened. Yuri Ivanov and I had a special guide for the tour of the Kremlin. I also visited churches, palaces and art galleries in Moscow. I saw things which the usual tourist does not see such as the graduates of a ballet training school.

I saw the Moscow University. They arranged to let me into certain halls and labs. We moved through silently to avoid questions. Yuri knows the University well and took me around in such a manner that I would not be observed.

I also visited the agricultural exposition twice in Moscow. I watched a cattle show and a horse show. This agricultural exposition is more than just a fair. The buildings are permanent. Every republic has its own architecture and its own buildings. There are special buildings for machinery. They have experimental farms in this exposition where they grow certain types of grain, vegetables, etc. Every phase of agriculture, including hog sheds, etc., is shown here the year round. They offer many prizes. In

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each building they have someone explaining to the peasants how they were able to get so much wool from one sheep, etc. There is constant lecturing.

This agricultural exposition is duplicated on a local scale. Outside of Kiev, they have built an agricultural exposition which, by comparison, is a miniature of the one in Moscow. They are teaching scientific farming. Each collective farm I visited has an agronomist, who is a graduate from a farm school and teaches scientific farming. The land around the cities, including Moscow, is set aside in plots for gardens for vegetables.

At the apartment building where I lived in Moscow, I would occasionally see a half dozen or so curtained cars drive into the courtyard. There is no front entrance to the apartment. I believe that some security agency may be located in the front part of the building. Once a week I would see a number of large cars come into the courtyard. Military officers would get out and walk into the building.

One day there was a sort of anniversary celebration of the founding of the border guards. They were wearing khaki uniforms with green bands on their hats and a green stripe on their trousers. There was a lengthy article in "Pravda" glorifying the security border guards. Many of them gathered in front of the apartment building on this day. I came to the conclusion that some important person was there, or there may be an office in the front of the building which has something to do with security.

TRAVEL IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE SOVIET UNION

I spent a month travelling outside Moscow, although I returned to Moscow once during this period for one day.

LENINGRAD

On June 2, 1958, I left Moscow for Leningrad by train on the Russian's luxury train, the "Red Arrow," which is similar to the "20th Century Limited" on the New York Central. Yuri Sergeovitch Ivanov accompanied me. Previous arrangements were made with the leadership of the Leningrad party so

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I was met at the station by a chauffeur and a representative of the Regional Committee.

The Leningrad Party headquarters was caught unprepared. This was apparently the first time they have had a visitor such as myself who had to be kept under security conditions. They tried, however, to accommodate me in such a way that no fault would be found with their living standards. I was driven to a former palace and was given the best accommodations in the palace. The baths and other facilities were outside of the palace. No food was available, only tea.

The palace is located at 39 Turichiska (phonetic) Street next door to the police station. Another large palace, which is the headquarters for the Communist Party School, is located across the street. When the delegates were in Russia for the 40th Anniversary of the U.S.S.R. they stayed in this latter palace. They could not house me there because they were not sure that it was safe from a security standpoint. The palace I stayed in had security precautions similar to those in effect in the apartment at which I was staying in Moscow. Women take care of these places for the Party. One cannot enter or leave the place without being seen by these women guards. They stay in a room with glass doors. This room is at one side of the entrance. There were two women guards on the second floor.

This palace is located a few blocks from the headquarters of the Leningrad Party, which is called Smolny (phonetic). Smolny is the best known historical place in Russia next to the Kremlin as far as the revolution is concerned. This was the original headquarters of the revolution. John Reed's "Ten Days that Shook the World" deals with it. This is where Lenin worked. This is where they held the first Soviet meetings. The living quarters of Lenin were there. I saw personal articles which belonged to Lenin. I saw pillars which John Reed had stood behind. It is noted that a reprinting of Reed's book has been ordered.

The Party headquarters used to be a girls school for the nobility during the time of the tsars. Since 1917 it has been the headquarters of both the government and the city. To enter you have to pass security guards at the door. I went through with the people previously mentioned accompanying me. As in the headquarters of the Central Committee of

Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow even the leading people have to show their passes. I used the private entrance of the Leningrad Party and also used the private dining room which is used only by the Party leadership in Leningrad.

I met with Petrov, the First Secretary of the Leningrad region of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I also had sessions with a member of the Regional Committee who is also the Educational Director for the Regional Committee in Leningrad. He usually saw me at least once a day and I would have lunch with him. I was taken on a tour of the city and saw some museums. The tour was made under extreme security precautions, privately and quietly, and with a constant outlook for any foreigners.

VISIT TO A SHIPYARD

I went to some factories and they asked what else I wanted to see. I asked to see the atomic ice breaker. They said that they would try to arrange it. After a little discussion it was decided that it would be all right to show it to me.

They arranged a visit and Yuri Ivanov accompanied me to the gate of a big shipyard where I was met by the Director and the Party Secretary of the shipyard. The chief engineer of the shipyard, along with the Party Secretary, accompanied me on the tour of the shipyard. I saw the atomic ice breaker. Hundreds of men were working on it. They are putting in the fittings and expect to launch it before the end of the summer. They showed me the power plant in this ship, which is called "The Lenin." They are also building destroyers, submarines and so forth at this shipyard.

I was then driven to the Director's elaborate office. A huge meal was prepared and there were all kinds of bottles of liquor on the table. We drank toasts. The Director did a lot of talking. He asked, why is the American working class so slow? He said, we work for the future. We are making sacrifices and are building. He stated that the American worker pays more attention to his own needs than he

does to the working class, historically speaking. He also stated that he has a lot of respect for American shipbuilding. He does not underestimate it.

The representative of the Leningrad region of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tried to cut this meeting with the Director of the shipyard short but was unable to do so. The Director said that he is a brother of Novikov (phonetic), who lived in the United States at the time of the Russian Revolution. He stated that Novikov carried to Russia a message from the American Communist Party about the time the Communist Party of the United States was first organized in about 1918. The Director stated that Lenin immediately responded to this message and wrote the famous pamphlet, "A Letter to the American Working Class." He said that his brother is still active, retired and lives in Russia.

After this party, the Director presented me with a huge book on Leningrad and autographed it. Of course, I had to leave all gifts and souvenirs I had received in Moscow before returning to the United States. I left Moscow with nothing which would reflect that I had been in the Soviet Union.

VISIT TO A TURBINE FACTORY

I visited a huge plant which produces electrical turbines. It is a very famous plant formerly known as the Puttilov (phonetic) plant. It is in the Kerov (phonetic) district. They were building turbines which will produce up to 250,000 kilowatts. Some of these turbines were being built for use on the Volga River. Others were being produced for China.

I spent hours with the Director of the plant. I was supposed to ask him questions about the average wage, working conditions, et cetera. The Party organizer explained how the Party functions in the plant, how they put over the Party line, the role of the trade-union, et cetera. They gave me copies of local shop papers.

As we went through the plant they said, you are one of us, are you not? Of course you are. All right, let

us show you a new plant we are building, one that Khrushchev saw only recently. This new plant is in the back of the old plant. It has the latest type of automatic machinery. They explained the technical reasons why this plant is superior in construction and in the use of certain types of machinery.

They took me through the workers dining rooms, clubs, etc., to show how they are getting along. They showed me a private radio station they have for the plant. The radio is used not only to play music but to shout slogans.

They talked about the functions of the Communist Party, the political problems and details concerning the relationship between the government and the plant. Nothing new was learned. They just verified what the leading members of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union had said, that is that they are now much better off because of the policy of decentralization and that because of this policy there is greater productivity.

VISIT TO LENINGRAD SUBWAY

I visited the subway in Leningrad. A Russian subway is built very deep, at least 15 to 20 stories deep. These deep subways actually saved Moscow. Not only was the Moscow subway used for transportation during the war, but Soviet general staff was located in the subway when the Germans were only a few miles out of Moscow. The subway is still being extended in Leningrad and it is deeper than the subway in Moscow. Every station is like a museum. Trains are clean and roomy. The main point is that they are very utilitarian. Not only are they a means of transportation but they are also a shelter.

Subways similar in construction are scheduled for Kiev and Peking.

MILITARY MANEUVERS

On the evening of June 6 or June 7, 1958, I was awakened during the night by a loud noise. I looked out the window and saw lines of military equipment such as tanks, missiles, rocket guns mounted on half-tracks, cannons, anti-aircraft weapons and what not. This lasted for at least three to four hours. I almost went crazy because of the amount of

noise. I do not know the significance of this. I asked Yuri the next morning if he had heard anything during the night and his only reply was, yes. He made no further comment. All of this was very frightening.

SIGHT-SEEING IN LENINGRAD

They took me to some of the old places where Lenin used to hide out. They took me to the spot where Lenin wrote "State and Revolution" on the stump of a tree. This has been preserved and a fence placed around it. They showed me where Lenin lived. They have replicas of original documents and decrees signed by him. The originals are in Moscow. They took me to a historical palace called Petarkov (phonetic). It is about 30 miles from Leningrad. It used to be the palace of the tsars. The Germans destroyed it but they have rebuilt most of it. It has all kinds of fountains and statues.

I also saw the Winter Palace which was partly destroyed by the Germans. I also saw the Hermitage, a world-famous art museum. It has many outstanding buildings and is a large institution. They have one part of this museum limited to Russian art.

MEETING WITH PETROV, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE LENINGRAD ORGANIZATION OF THE CPSU

The day before I left Leningrad I met with Petrov, the First Secretary of the Leningrad Organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (I am not sure if this includes only the city or the region.) I was greeted in a large office where refreshments were available on a table. Petrov speaks a little English. He is obviously a university graduate. The new leadership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is different from the old leadership. They are all trained as scientists or technicians or in liberal arts, politics, and economy. The new corps of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a different type of leadership.

Petrov gave me a picture of the situation in the Leningrad area and told what had happened since the war. He

summarized the political and economic situation. He did not tell me anything new. I had notes on this meeting but was not allowed to take them out of Russia.

I asked him, in its relation to the people, what is the difference in the functioning of the Party now as compared with the time of Stalin? Petrov gave an example. He said that much more initiative and freedom are allowed the people now. For example, last year someone wrote a play. It was the kind of play that would teach disobedience of parents. Somebody from the Cultural Department of the Party saw a rehearsal of the play and went to the director and the author and said that it was no good. He said, how can small children have more sense than experienced parents, etc.? Don't you think it is extreme? They replied we are not going to change a thing in this play.

Petrov said that in the old days the Party would have issued a decree. We would attack the play or shut down the theater and that would be it.

Petrov said, we decided to do something else. We said, all right we disagree with you but how about putting on a preview and invite some parents. Let the parents offer suggestions. They agreed and said they would get the reaction of the parents but would not promise to make any changes.

Of course, the Party went to work. According to Petrov, the Party mobilized parents and had a talk with them. They went to see the play. When it was concluded they expressed criticism. Of course, this criticism was expressed in a friendly manner, so to speak. By this criticism they compelled changes to be made in some parts of this play. Petrov emphasized that the Party played a little role in the mobilization of opinion, but that the Party does not use the high-handed methods that they would have used in the past.

We also discussed the question of peace. Petrov asked whether the American people are conscious of this question.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING LENINGRAD

One third of Leningrad was destroyed during World War II. They pointed out how far the Germans advanced. The point is just outside the city limits. They said that a

million people died during the siege. Some were killed, others either starved or froze to death. They have restored almost everything in Leningrad but in view of the fact that they had so much work to do it seemed to me that they still have a lot of work to do. Leningrad is a replica of Paris. They have restored plants, utilities and have rebuilt housing and added some new housing. They have built social institutions such as auditoriums, stadiums, meeting halls, etc.

Leningrad did not look too prosperous on the surface. The people were not as well dressed as they were in Moscow, Kiev or Stalingrad. The Party people explained that it took a long time for them to get back on their feet after the siege. Not only that, but most of the plants were moved to the Urals. However, they have a big ship building industry and a big machine producing industry. It is obvious that they are not putting a lot of capital in building new plants.

The Leningrad area is a very poor agricultural area. They can only raise certain specialized crops such as flax. Lumber is a big item there. They said that they are now better off than they were before the new decentralization policy came into effect.

KIEV

I left Leningrad for Kiev by train about midnight on June 8, 1958. I travelled for two nights and one full day before arriving at Kiev. I took the train because there were foreigners from the West on all airlines from Leningrad to Kiev. Thus, it was deemed advisable that I go by train. In fact, there was a communication between the Leningrad Party office and the Central Committee in Moscow in regard to changing my mode of transportation. They checked and double checked. The final order from Moscow was to go by train because it was too dangerous from a security standpoint to go by plane.

Within the Soviet Union the Communist Party has its own telephone line. The Party does not use the telephone lines used by the rest of the people. The Central Committee can pick up the phone and call any Party office in the Soviet Union. The same holds true for China. Between Peking and

Moscow there is a phone line which is used only by the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the two governments. The Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union also has its own radio for contacting Party offices.

RECEPTION IN KIEV AND DESCRIPTION OF LODGINGS

I spent four or five days in Kiev. I was met in Kiev by two members of the Ukrainian Central Committee and the usual car and chauffeur. The Ukrainian Party has its own Central Committee although it is affiliated with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Instead of having a Regional Committee they have the Ukrainian Central Committee. They do not have educational directors or organizational directors, they are called secretaries.

One of those who met us is Yuri Igarov (phonetic), a member of the Ukrainian Central Committee. He was with me practically every day in Kiev. He knows a lot of Canadians and mentioned them by name. He is 36 years of age and speaks some English. He assumed that I was a Canadian until I told him otherwise. He wanted to discuss the Canadian situation with me, however, since we had mutual acquaintances we had a good relationship. The Ukraine is visited by a lot of Canadians. The Labor Progressive Party of Canada publishes two Ukrainian language newspapers.

In Kiev they housed me in a sanitarium about 25 miles outside the city. I had the main suite with a private dining room connected to it. This is a sort of vacation and health resort combined and is used by the leadership of the Ukrainian Party. It is called Putza Vodista (phonetic--means "Forest Waters"). It is a gigantic and elaborate institution with the finest furnishings and surroundings. They have a medical staff of 150 to accommodate a few hundred people the year round. The director and assistant director took care of my needs. I was not alone. Right next to my apartment, of course, Yuri Ivanov had his quarters. I never had to arrange anything. Everything was done for me. Two people were assigned to me in Kiev, as well as in Leningrad, in addition to Yuri Ivanov.

In Kiev they also have some apartments similar to the one I stayed at in Moscow. When I went into Kiev for an afternoon or an evening to go to the theater or to a museum I would use this modern, elaborate apartment which was even larger than the one in Moscow. The procedure with regard to the housekeeper and the cook was the same as that in Moscow. I stayed at this apartment on the evening before I left Kiev since they felt that it would be too long a journey from the sanitarium to Kiev and then from the airport to Moscow. This apartment is located almost around the corner from the opera house.

VISIT TO A COLLECTIVE FARM

I visited a collective farm which is about one and a half hours ride from Kiev. They said that it was not one of the best farms. This farm is in competition with a farm near Moscow called "Thelman" (phonetic). The "Thelman" farm was named after [redacted] I believe the farm I visited is called the "Communist."

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The farmers do not live on the farm. They live in a one-street village. This was a very small village consisting of only six or seven homes. On the farm as in the city I was met by the chairman of the collective farm. Every farm also has a Party Secretary. I also met with the agronomist, who is the scientific advisor, and the chairman's wife, who is the hostess. Yuri Igorov and Yuri Ivanov were with me.

I spent practically an entire day on that farm. They introduced me to various heads of departments on the farm. Someone is in charge of the dairy, someone is in charge of the pigs, the grain, the orchards, and so forth. This farm was wiped out during the invasion. The chairman was one of the few people who was an original member of this collective farm and who survived the war.

After I had visited this farm a Plenum of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held and several changes were made with regard to agriculture. All payments in kind were abolished and the monetary standard was set up.

All farms have their own fish pond. One has to eat the national dishes when visiting a farm. At the end of the meal everyone sang. The chauffeur was allowed to participate in this type of gathering. In Russia the class lines are very sharp. Unless they are in an isolated spot where no public eating places are available the chauffeurs ate by themselves. We drank "Goralka" (phonetic), which is Vodka with red pepper.

Roughly speaking, this farm consisted of about 4,000 hectares and they were adding acreage. They already had some of their own machinery and were building a large garage. Until recently the farms had no problem in regard to shelter for machinery because of the machine tractor stations.

I was told that their chief products are milk, cream and cheese because they are not too far away from the market for these products in Kiev.

Depending upon the type of work, the day rate is 10 to 15 rubles. If one goes beyond the normal production extra pay is received. This is an incentive for harder work. Also, at the end of the season products such as grain are distributed to the workers in equal shares, if the production quota has been surpassed. In addition, each individual or each family has its own private plot of land. This plot would be an acre or so. In most areas, however, the farmers are paying less attention to these private plots because it is now more profitable to put in more time in the work of the collective farm. Also, it is possible for a collective farmer to have his own cow, chickens and so forth. They have to take care of their own animals and receive no help from the collective. This is also being done away with because it does not pay the individual farmer as much as the work on the collective farm.

Another phenomenon is the merging of collective farms. One farm I saw was only one fourth its present size just a couple of years ago. This is being done in order to farm more economically in the utilization of machinery. Collective farms are growing in size.

When this particular farm started after the war nothing was left. They bought four cows. They plowed and

developed the land and planted trees. Competition between collective farms is based on how much milk they get per cow, how much grain per hectare, the weight of pigs, how much of their commitment to the state they fulfill, how well they have paid off loans for the purchase of machinery and so forth. There are minimum prices, but price level for products is set as a result of competition in the market. Everything is sold to state institutions. They do not sell anything privately. The quota is set by the planning organization. The state has a master plan and expects so much from a particular area. Then the sub-divisions of the area get together and decide how much of a certain product they will produce for that year. The farms talk it over then and set their plans. As a rule, because of Party participation in this whole arrangement, the farms will gear their plans so that the overall plan of the particular area or region will be fulfilled. The Party will not let the farms underestimate. The incentive is that if they produce more than the quota or over-fulfill their plan, the share of each one participating in the collective is larger at the end of the year.

The collective farms retain some profits just as do the factories. The government lets them keep a certain percentage. When I say keep I mean that everything is sent to the government but the government will send back a certain percentage in the form of cash or bank deposits. This percentage is used for the shares for each farmer in the collective and also for certain social uses. For example, it may be used to build new buildings or homes or cultural institutions. Collective farms now assume responsibility for building individual homes as well as multiple dwellings. However, on a farm you have very little choice as to the kind of housing. There is no inheritance of land and no titles to property.

The last Plenum of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union discussed only agriculture. They have abolished the tax on the private plots of land. Other taxes were also abolished to give the farmers incentive so that the U.S.S.R. can catch up to the United States in agricultural production.

In addition to incentives, they have other pressures. The farm has to take care of the aged, infirmed and the young.

Many women work at hard jobs on the farm. Until recently, most farms had no dispensaries, no clinics or nurseries and so forth. They are now beginning to establish these institutions. The more profit the collective farm makes the more institutions it can establish. Thus, they use this social pressure to make people work. But there is also an incentive to obtain luxuries. In the old days there was very little to buy. Everything was rationed because of short supplies, but now things are different.

VISIT TO AN ELECTRONIC INSTRUMENT FACTORY

I visited an electronic instrument factory in Kiev and all the institutions connected with it, including the trade union palace of culture. At this factory they were making sensitive measuring instruments. The average wage there was about 1,000 rubles a month. The skilled people make more than this. Electric razors were being manufactured at this plant. There were kindergartens where the mothers could deposit their preschool age children. Factories such as this also have summer camps for children.

FUNCTIONS OF THE TRADE UNIONS

It is the task of the Communist Party to take care of everything in connection with each factory. The Party is responsible for production, political education, and the welfare of the workers. The Party is woven into every institution, into everything that exists. The task of the trade union is limited. The trade union is actually a social organization. First of all, it sees that production is maintained. Membership in the trade union is compulsory. The trade union is also supposed to protect standards, prevent speed-up and prevent abuse. Ostensibly, the trade unions exist to protect the welfare of the workers as against management. The trade unions are supposed to see that management does not engage in abuses and that the rates are proper. While most trade union leaders are Party people, the trade unions have been criticized, since Stalin's abuses have been exposed, for not protecting the interests of the workers. Trade unions are expected to make suggestions as to how to better production.

In addition, the trade unions are responsible for social activities and institutions like rest homes, sanitariums, kindergartens, palaces of culture, etc. They also provide funds so that certain members can go to institutions like the rest homes and sanitariums. They also run hobby centers, theaters and so forth. While the Party has more power than the trade union, it does not engage in this type of activity. It merely sees that it is carried on. The Party is responsible for political understanding in general. Without political understanding they would not have any of these social institutions, according to the Party.

In conclusion, trade unions are supposed to alleviate grievances, ask about safety measures, etc. They also negotiate with management to set certain rates which are supposed to be fair, always keeping in mind the state--rates which are fair to the state. I would call trade unions social institutions more than anything else. Each factory has its own trade union. They have national trade union organizations which, among other things, send delegations to other countries.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS IN REGARD TO KIEV

Kiev is one of the most beautiful of all cities. It is on the high bank of the Dnieper River. They showed me new bridges over this river. The style of architecture in Kiev is very classical. Kiev is almost completely new. It has very modern apartments which are superior to those in Moscow. I saw no statues of Lenin in Kiev.

I visited the Ukrainian Art Gallery while in Kiev. In Kiev I was supplied with copies of the "British Daily Worker" which can be bought at all public newsstands as can the "Moscow News," which is published in English twice weekly. Other than that I depended upon the Russian press. "Pravda" goes everywhere in Russia. The Ukrainians use their own language to place emphasis on national independence.

TEMPORARY RETURN TO MOSCOW FROM KIEV

I was going to Stalingrad from Kiev but I agreed to fly back to Moscow because there is better transportation from Moscow to Stalingrad than from Kiev to Stalingrad.

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On the night before I left Kiev I attended a banquet with members of the Ukrainian Central Committee present. Yuri Igorov was present. I left for the airport after the banquet. A leading dignitary took me to the airport and hid me in a special room at the airport terminal. My baggage was taken from me six hours in advance.

I arrived in Moscow on June 14 or June 15, 1958. Nicolai Matkovsky and Aleksei Andreevich Grechukhin were at the Moscow airport waiting for me. Aleksei had returned to Russia from a trip to the United States. I spent the night in Moscow and left the next morning for Stalingrad by plane.

I always had the same seat on every plane, the first seat behind the cockpit. The take-off was delayed. I found out afterward that a couple of military attaches from the American and British Embassies flew in a plane ahead of me and were to visit the Stalingrad battlefield. Since the Russians wanted to be sure that I did not meet them accidentally at Stalingrad my flight was delayed.

STALINGRAD

In Stalingrad I was met by two Party leaders. One was Nicolai (last name unknown), who is in charge of agitation and propaganda. He is about 57 or 58 years of age and has flowing, white hair. He is a veteran of Stalingrad. A Ziel (phonetic) automobile, which is bulletproof and looked like a big Packard, and a chauffeur were waiting for me.

I ate in a private dining room on the second floor of the Stalingrad Hotel with Nicolai (LNU), who is one of the Party Secretaries. We were assigned special waitresses.

In Stalingrad I stayed at a small palace which was luxuriously furnished. Gamal Nasser of Egypt and the King of Nepal had stayed in this palace. It is surrounded by a high, brick wall. It has elaborate flower gardens, housekeepers and so forth. Yuri Ivanov stayed in the palace with me. This palace is located on the outskirts of the city across the street from the outdoor stadium. I believe that it is in the western part of the city and is off the main street which leads from the Stalingrad Hotel.

SIGHT-SEEING IN STALINGRAD

In planning sight-seeing trips either in Stalingrad or any other city they would always find out if any foreigners were in the city and would map out the route accordingly. Incidentally, from time to time Yuri Ivanov would talk to the headquarters of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union and give them our itinerary. Also, as I was moving from city to city the Central Committee would call from Moscow in order to arrange for my transportation. It should be noted also that foreigners usually do not use railroads in the Soviet Union. While there were many curtain-drawn cars in Moscow there were no more than two such cars in Stalingrad. I used such a car in Stalingrad.

Nicolai (LNU) took me for a tour of Stalingrad. Stalingrad is completely new. Stalingrad runs along the bank of the Volga River. It stretches about 20 miles but it is probably no more than one mile in width.

I visited the House of Architects which contains the plans for the rebuilding of the city.

I observed a row of tanks and asked Nicolai (LNU) about them. He said that they mark the farthest point of penetration by the Germans. This is significant because the Russians held on at some points within 100 yards of the Volga. The idea was to keep a beachhead for the reserve army so that the reserve army could cross the Volga and start an offensive.

They drove me to a famous hill. This hill was a most strategic spot because you can see the entire city from that hill. Below the hill is the Volga, steel mills and other metal factories.

I was shown a house which is being preserved as a memorial because a squad of Soviet soldiers, under Sergeant Pavlov (phonetic), held on to this building, which was in a strategic spot, during the entire siege and prevented the Germans from getting through to the Volga.

While they have utilities they are still putting in gas mains, water mains, etc.

Nicolai (LNU) described the battle for Stalingrad. He said that the heaviest fighting of the war was here where tens of thousands died within yards of each other and are buried in a common grave. Yet the Russians would not retreat. By holding on to this hill they were able to retain the commanding heights and also the beachhead. He described the difficulties involved in ferrying troops and supplies across the Volga. He said that the Red October factory held out but almost all the other factories caved in. The tractor factory was demolished. Nothing was left of this factory.

The next day I was taken to the headquarters of the Regional Committee. They gave me a private showing of the military film of the battle for Stalingrad. They had pictures of concentration camps the Germans had established not far from Stalingrad. I was told that they found thousands of Russians who had starved or who were tortured by the Germans. Finally, the film showed the surrender of the German General Von Paulist (phonetic). It is noted that a photograph of Nikita Khrushchev is in this film. The Party office is a new structure to the rear of the Hotel Stalingrad. It practically occupies an entire block.

THE DON-VOLGA CANAL

The next day Nicolai (LNU) asked me if I wanted to see the Don-Volga Canal so we drove at least 20 miles and he took me to one of the locks where the Don and Volga Rivers meet. There is a large recreation area there. There is also a 15-story statue of Stalin on a base or pedestal which is another 5 stories high. The statue faces the triangle where the two rivers meet. Yuri said, don't forget Stalin was a great man. Nicolai (LNU) did not say anything.

There was a military guard at the locks. Ships were going through the canal. We went up into the tower. A young girl about 22 years of age was in charge. She had two male assistants from the technical school in Stalingrad. She explained the operations of these locks, which are the closest to Stalingrad. Each lock has a name and a number.

On the way back to Stalingrad the traffic was terrible, the pedestrians unruly and I saw accidents on this very warm

evening. I finally returned to the city and to my elaborate dining room in the Stalingrad Hotel.

VISIT TO A HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER
STATION AND THE CITY OF VOLZKS (PHONETIC)

The Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union wanted me to visit Volzks, a city across the Volga River from Stalingrad. I also visited the hydro-electric power station which they are building on the Volga. I took a large ferry boat in order to visit this power station.

This electric power station is almost completed. It occupies miles of territory. They have an overhead trolley for the transportation of the material for the dam. They have cement and concrete factories right at the plant, which will produce over 2,000,000 kilowatts of electricity. I was told that 30,000 persons mostly young people, are working on this plant. They told me that during their last election some Americans who were in Stalingrad to study election methods in the Soviet Union visited this plant. I was taken to a dugout where the turbines will be located in the dam. There is a meeting hall in this dugout with maps, slogans and so forth. I looked at the locks they are building in order to dam the Volga. The dam is just north of the city. When the dam is completed they will build a road across it. It is supposed to be bigger than Boulder Dam. Hundreds of bulldozers and all kinds of monstrous machinery, so much of it as to overwhelm one, were in operation.

Volzks is a city which was built across the river from Stalingrad and it has a population of about 40,000. It is east of the dam. It was built for the people working on the dam and the hydro-electric station. Of course, they intend to open up other plants and factories when the dam and the electric power station are completed.

Volzks is supposed to be a model city in regard to layout and everything else; however, at present it looks like a place on a desert. It was very hot when I was there and they did not let me drink water from the tap. I had to drink boiled water or mineral water.

Volzke is called a socialist city. Why I don't know except because of its newness. They began to build it in 1949. It is still in the process of construction. There are no individual homes, just large apartment buildings. The city contains a swimming pool, theaters, saloons, auditoriums and so forth. Volzke was a show place for me. They pay a lot of attention to the collective. There is a very large theater in Volzke.

I saw a very significant incident on the way back from Stalingrad. I was waiting in line for the ferry to take me across the Volga and back to Stalingrad. There is a lot of traffic for the electric power station. We drove onto the ferry. They really crowd the cars and trucks onto this ferry. As we got on the ferry there were two more trucks in line. One truck was a military truck. A few dozen soldiers who probably perform guard duty at this site were on this military truck. The woman who runs the ferry refused to let the army truck onto the ferry. She said that the other truck, which was working on the construction job, had priority.

An argument ensued. A Lieutenant argued with the woman. Sergeants came over and argued. We watched and listened. People joined in and yelled at the Lieutenant, "You are beginning to use harsh language and we advise you to stop." The Lieutenant apologized although he was not using harsh language. The Captain did not engage in discussion with the woman operator of the ferry. The woman made the truck back off and the civilian truck, also driven by a woman, came onto the ferry. The soldiers stayed on the ferry but asked where they would meet the truck. They probably had to walk the 20 miles to Stalingrad. I had the impression that the military would get priority. The significant thing is that they are in a hurry as far as construction jobs are concerned.

VISIT TO A TRACTOR FACTORY

The next day I went to the tractor factory and was met by the Director. Since the old factory was destroyed this is a completely new factory. The original factory was built by the International Harvester Corporation and is based on International Harvester patents. Hundreds of Americans were employed there for about three years after it was first built.

The plant has 15,000 employees. I was there on the 29th anniversary of the original plant. While they wanted me to participate in the ceremonies I could not for security reasons.

Steel for the plant is supplied by a steel mill which is located a few miles away. Some casting is done in this plant but most of it is done in the big steel plant.

The Director took me through the plant. When I asked him how many tractors they produced a day he said they produced 150 heavy farm tractors per day. He said they cannot keep up with the orders but work on a round-the-clock basis. There is a loading platform and a sort of loading dock and the tractors are placed on flat cars at a railroad siding. The Director asked me to drive a tractor off the assembly line.

I saw the new housing for the workers. Everything was destroyed and rebuilt except for an apartment building. I also went through the new palace of culture.

SOCHI

I went by non-stop flight from Stalingrad to Sochi. The usual front seat was reserved for me in the plane. Sochi is a resort on the Black Sea. It is almost a sub-tropical city. It looks more like Los Angeles than Miami. From Sochi you can see snow-capped mountains. My purpose in going to Sochi was to rest for five or six days. They wanted me to stay there for a month.

I was assigned to a huge palace called Leninka. It is located about ten miles from the airport. It is a two-story affair with numerous bathrooms, studies, libraries, balconies and so forth. It is supposed to be attached to a sanitarium for members of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The head of the personnel at the palace was a nurse. While it was on the grounds of the sanitarium for the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was separated from other buildings by hundreds of yards of fences. All gates in this fence were locked. No stranger could walk into the grounds. I could not leave the grounds alone. I do not know its exact location but it is not

too far from the sanitarium for scientists. There is a rocky beach and a private pier with a sundeck. This pier was guarded. Since it is on the Black Sea, there are anchorages and the number of the anchorage for the sanitarium for scientists is 80. The palace I stayed at is next door to this anchorage. There is a railroad track running along the coast and trains go by from all parts of the Soviet Union to Georgia, Azerbaijan, etc. I was the only person in addition to Yuri Ivanov and the nurses who used the private pier for the palace in which I was staying.

The sanitarium for members of the Central Committee is called Prunae. I do not know its exact location except that it is also on the Black Sea, in Sochi, and in a westerly direction from where I was. It had anchorage number 76. I never visited this sanitarium although they would have had to take me there if I became ill.

One of these palaces has a tunnel so that one does not have to walk across the railroad tracks on the way to and from the beach and the pier. There are iron gates at the entrance to the stairway which leads up from the tracks. There is a sign "Trespassing Forbidden Under Penalty." Across from me was a sanitarium for the black metal industry. "Pravda" also has a sanitarium there. It was to the left of the palace where I was staying.

I was scheduled to go to the Odessa Opera, but Canadians and Americans were around. Since there was no place for me to hide in the theater I did not go.

While in Sochi I received "Pravda" by air mail. There was a powerful short-wave radio at Leninka. By means of this radio I learned of the execution of Imre Nagy. I could not get any American stations on the radio. I got stations from all over the world except the United States. I got two stations of the BBC. The Russians, unlike the Chinese, never went out of their way to supply me with additional information.

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON
THE U.S.S.R. AND THE CPSU

THE COLLECTIVE

Party membership in the Soviet Union is still a little

under 7,000,000. The Party pays a lot of attention to collective things. Their theaters are elaborate affairs. Instructors teach people to knit, to sew, to play chess, to fish, to hunt, etc. They have established many indoor swimming pools.

All stadiums look like the old amphitheaters in Rome. They can seat 110,000 people in the stadium in Moscow. There are three separate stadia inside the stadium. The celebration of the 40th anniversary of the U.S.S.R. was held in one of these stadia. Every town usually constructs some elaborate structure like this where people can go.

ACHIEVEMENTS, PRODUCTION, STANDARD OF LIVING

The remarkable thing in Russia is the rebuilding. They have rebuilt hundreds of cities and towns. They work like ants.

At every factory I visited in every city they would show me some new machinery. They would show me a machine and say, this came from Cincinnati originally, or this came from Cleveland or Detroit. They would then say, all right the United States put on a boycott. Yet here is this machinery. It is much better, an improvement over the original so if the United States thinks it is harming us it is crazy. The Russians said, as did the Chinese, that sometimes it is a blessing if they are compelled to produce their own products.

They would always make comparisons with machines which were first produced in the United States, Germany or England. While they have machines, they want more in order to speed up production. They have made remarkable progress. However, there are extremes. They must produce some of the finest electronic equipment in order to launch the Sputniks. They have fine jet planes.

I went to an industrial exhibit in Moscow the day before I left for the United States. In this exhibit they have all kinds of automatic machinery, the latest model cars and so forth. One of their latest model automobiles looks like a Cadillac. It is called "Chika" (phonetic--means Sea Gull). All kinds of machinery, mining equipment, tractors and other industrial equipment were on exhibit here. A lot of things I saw compared favorably with things I saw in any part of Europe.

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One can see these contrasts in many lines. Yet when it comes to something necessary for industry or for military purposes, this is where they watch quality. Their automobiles are of a fine quality. They will also put on an opera or a ballet which cannot be beaten in regard to the energy, money, effort, scenery and effects which they put into this artistry.

There are mostly young people trained in new methods and new techniques. They have lost the old Russian habit of taking it easy and stalling. They reward the workers for their efforts, really reward those who produce the most with vacations, automobiles and so forth.

Each factory has in the courtyard big boards containing photographs of the heroes of production. Any young person with ambition who is not lazy and if he is endowed with some ability can go as high as he wants to.

You can get most anything as far as staples are concerned. If there are shortages we did not notice any. The fact that they have no rationing is proof of this. The big problem for Russians used to be bread. Russians eat a lot of bread. They consume a lot of cereal. The Russians eat a lot, by our standards. They pay little attention to diets. They eat a lot of meat, butter, milk, etc. Russia was the only country in Europe where I saw them place so much bread on the table that it was wasted. In Switzerland, France and England they measured every little roll, even in the fanciest restaurants. You cannot get cream in England. You can get all the cream you want in Russia.

The point is that compared to their old standards they have food and they consume more than most Europeans. It is recognized that the low paid unskilled worker cannot always get these things. Yet rent is no problem. Rent is only a fraction of their salary or a maximum of 5%, including utilities. They have no medical bills. Each institution has its own clinic, hospital or dispensary. There are no doctor bills. Drugs are sold for practically the cost of the container.

Aleksei Grechukhin said that the people in Russia could have more clothes, more autos and so forth but Russia is

putting the money into machinery and supplies other countries with machinery. He said the people will get more automobiles eventually. Presently, they are building trucks for use in industry.

The standard of living in Russia is now higher than it ever was. It is really high for the section of the population including technicians, architects, skilled workers, writers and the industrious collective farmer.

During Stalin's period the Russians were always suspicious of foreigners. Now they say very openly that if they can learn something from a foreigner they are going to learn. They feel that Stalin's isolation of Russia held them back. Khrushchev, at the Eastern Germany Communist Party Congress, made an appeal for technicians from the West, particularly Germany. He told the East Germans that Russia would pay them the highest wages if they would come to Russia. He promised not to ask them their political attitudes. He also told the East German Communist Party not to bother scientists and engineers about their political views since they are still making up their minds.

So the Russians are ready to hire foreigners, employ them, learn from them or copy their methods. They are in a hurry to develop. The Russians imitate everything the United States produces, including automobiles. Their standards are better than some Western European countries when it comes to food, clothing, footwear, and so forth. Many little things they try to produce and imitate are not so good. An example is ballpoint pens.

Another thing I noticed, they have a labor shortage but they use their army. Wherever I travelled I saw sections of the army building railroads. They use the army personnel as real laborers. I also saw army personnel fixing telephone lines. The Russians utilize the millions they have in uniforms to perform some form of labor.

ATTITUDE AND MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE

I got the feeling that the people in Russia are worried about international tensions. They would like peace more than anything else. You hardly run into a family that did not suffer some casualties in World War II. We listened to many stories about the war. On the other hand, the Russians

are not spoiled as yet. They have not been pampered yet. They have not been spoiled by luxuries.

Aleksei Grechukhin is probably being groomed for leadership. He is very outspoken. He brought his wife to the theater with me on three occasions. I did not see the wives of most of the Party people with whom I had contact. There is usually no social contacts with the families. The various official ceremonies and banquets which were announced in the Soviet press while I was in Russia would list the dignitaries and the visitors. Never was the wife of a leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union announced as being in attendance. The wives do not attend formal ceremonies.

SECURITY MEASURES TAKEN IN MY BEHALF

In addition to the routine at the apartment in Moscow, the Russians always provided security measures for me. I always sat in some private room at air terminals. They would not let me on a plane if there were any Westerners on it. They would reserve a seat for me on every plane. Practically everything I did I went through a security routine except for a few movies which I attended in the outlying districts of Moscow where only Russians go.

The various Party organizations have housing set aside for Communists who require security precautions or for dignitaries who want privacy. Except in Leningrad, there are special apartments and I would stay in these apartments. If it was not possible to arrange eating within the premises they would arrange for me to eat under secure conditions in some dining room, private or public, that is used only by the leadership of the Party.

In Leningrad I stayed in a place which is used only by members of the leadership of the Party in that district. I ate in Smolny, the headquarters of the entire Leningrad Party organization. Within Smolny they had a private dining room for the leadership. This entire room was kept open for me even during off hours and on Saturday and Sunday. They would just cook for me and those accompanying me.

OBSERVATIONS IN REGARD TO AIRCRAFT

The Russians have many commercial jet airplanes. For example, there were never less than a dozen jets around the Moscow airport when I was there. On the trip from Moscow to Peking the jet airliner stopped at Omsk in Siberia. Fourteen jet airliners and 67 Migs were observed at Omsk. At Irkutsk I saw 11 jet airliners. There were 4 Russian jet airliners in Peking. Jet airliners were also observed at Kiev. At Kiev and at other airports military aircraft surrounded the field.

The point is that they have scores of jet airlines standing around when you make a cross country trip and they use them. I saw as many as three or four taking off in all directions while we were refueling. They have a crew of six on these jet airliners, not counting the hostesses who actually prepares the food on the planes. Most signs on all planes are in both Russian and English. The Czechs are also using jet airliners between Moscow and Prague.

When I went through the mining and industrial areas in the Ukraine I visited the recently established city of Stalino. It was surrounded by Migs and missile installations. Near the large factories in the outlying areas there are plenty of Migs lined up in adjacent fields. I do not know whether or not these are late models but many of them took off from dirt or clay runways.

CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
URUGUAY AND MEETINGS OF ALL COMMUNIST
PARTIES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

While I was in Moscow, Russia, I learned from Nikolai Litkovsky, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Aleksei Andreevich Greshukhin, of the International Department of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that the Communist Party of Uruguay is scheduled to hold a convention in August, 1958. This convention will give communist parties in South and Central America, and even other communist parties, a good excuse to go to Uruguay. Thus, they will have a gathering of most Latin American communist leaders and this convention is considered important for that reason. At this convention a decision will be made in regard to a date and place for a meeting of all communist parties in the Western Hemisphere. This meeting of all communist parties in the Western Hemisphere will most likely take place in Argentina. It is hoped that this meeting can be held in December, but a decision may be made to hold it in January.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union wants the Communist Party, USA, to send a delegate to the convention of the Communist Party of Uruguay for the purpose of getting details in regard to the meeting of all communist parties in the Western Hemisphere.

ARGENTINA

While the meeting of all communist parties in the Western Hemisphere will most likely be held in Argentina, Venezuela and Columbia were mentioned. Argentina was talked about as a center for communists in Latin America. It is one of the biggest bases for carrying on international communist activity. It is also a base for establishing relationships between communist parties in the Western Hemisphere and for the coordination of the policies of these communist parties in the fight against imperialism.

When I discussed with Nicolai and Aleksei the difficulty of getting to Russia from the United States because of passport restrictions (this was before the recent Supreme Court decision), they said that Argentina is a good place to make travel arrangements. Brazil and even Venezuela were mentioned in this connection but were not emphasized as Argentina was.

MEETING WITH UNDERGROUND LEADER
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

While I was in Moscow, a meeting with an underground leader of the Communist Party of Cuba was arranged by the Russians. This meeting was held in the apartment in which I was staying in Moscow. Aleksei served as the interpreter. Also present was someone from the Latin American Bureau of the International Department of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union who speaks Russian and Spanish. It is noted that some Latin Americans operate almost openly in the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union. No names were used. The Cuban was merely told that I was a representative of the Communist Party, USA in Russia incognito.

We agreed that if a leader of the Communist Party of Cuba comes to New York City, he will be put in contact with the leadership of the Communist Party, USA in order to re-establish a good contact between the two Parties and to discuss mutual problems, the political situation in Cuba, what the Communist Party, USA can do for the Communist Party of Cuba, etc.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

and his wife from the Communist Party of Venezuela were scheduled to be in Russia while I was there according to information from Nicolai. However, they and some representatives of the Communist Party of Argentina and the Communist Party of Columbia were delayed. Otherwise, I probably would have met with them.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO AND GUS HALL

Nicolai and Aleksei discussed the arrest of Gus Hall. They stated that while Mexico City still remains a communist center, it cannot be depended upon any more. They said that both the Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of Cuba have handed in reports to the effect that something is wrong in the Mexican Party and that the Mexican communists cannot be trusted. They asked me if I thought this information throwing suspicion on the Communist Party of Mexico might account for the arrest of Gus Hall. They asked if I thought the Communist Party of Mexico betrayed Gus Hall. I replied that I did not know but that there does seem to be some suspicion in regard to the Communist Party of Mexico.

I learned from Nicolai and Aleksei that a number of communist leaders from Latin America are planning to go to Moscow for conferences.

During the visit of Vice President Richard Nixon to South America my Russian contacts told me that they were glad that the Communist Party, USA, is paying attention to events in Latin America.

FURTHER COMMENTS REGARDING SOUTH AMERICA

While in Moscow in conferences with Russian officials, we talked about Vassily Kuznetsov, the acting foreign minister, who was a member of the Russian delegation and who went to Peking this summer in July, 1958. He is the Latin American specialist. He led the delegation from the Soviet Union to the inauguration of the president of Argentina. When he returned to Moscow, he gave a report on Latin America and the tour of Vice President Nixon. He was in South America about the same time Nixon was. I think that it was no accident that Kuznetsov went with Khrushchev to Peking. In the communist plan against the United States, Latin America is going to play an important role. They will use the communist parties in Latin America in this regard.

MEETING WITH ROMANOVSKY (PHONETIC), ONE
OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE KOMSOMOL OF THE U.S.S.R.

While I was in Moscow during the latter part of May, 1958, I went with Aleksei Andreevich Grechukhin of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Komsomol or Young Communist League office. This is a large building located one block east of the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There are plain clothes guards at the entrances. They ask for passes and follow security procedures similar to those used at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There are also guards on the main floor and a guard at the elevators on the upper floors. We went to either the third or fourth floor to the office of Romanovsky (phonetic), who is one of the secretaries of the Komsomol.

When we arrived in the outer office of his secretary and were announced, Romanovsky sent word that we should be patient and that he would cancel his other appointments. Some people left his office before we entered. They did not look like Russians. It is possible that they were from Young Communist League organizations in Europe.

Romanovsky gave me a brief review of what happened at the World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957. His comments about the American and British press were bitter. He said that they were responsible for a lot of the trouble and provocations. He stated that the American and British press tried to take photographs illegally, tried to interview delegates, etc. He said that while there was not much to be expected from the American delegation, it lacked leadership and was a bad delegation on the whole. He said that they are angry with [redacted] and they thought that the Communist Party, USA neglected the United States delegation by not dealing with it in an organized way and by not assigning some Party leader to help co-ordinate and to give leadership to the delegation. He said that the leadership of this American delegation was actually selected and elected in Moscow. It was led by inexperienced youngsters. There was also some dissension. They were convinced that there were spies and provocateurs from the United States intelligence agencies in the delegation.

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Romanovsky said that they have some suspicions about Barbara Perry. He said that perhaps she is working for some intelligence agency, but the fact is she did come to Moscow. It is possible that the youngsters in the American delegation did not know how to correctly involve her in activities in order to prevent the factionalism which developed in the American delegation.

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Nicolai Matkovsky, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had previously discussed the American delegation to the World Youth Festival with me. Nicolai was positive in stating that the American delegation was no good, while Romanovsky said it lacked leadership but was the best delegation which could be expected under the circumstances. Nicolai was very sharp in his comments about [redacted]. He said that [redacted] has been in touch with the Russians again. However, it is up to the Communist Party, USA to determine who is who in regard to possible enemy agents.

1959 WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA

Romanovsky said that the 1959 World Youth Festival will be held in Vienna, Austria. A headquarters has been established for a temporary Preparatory Committee for this World Youth Festival. The address is Vienne I, Seilerstatte, 15, Autriche. This Preparatory Committee is composed of Communist Party members or Komsomols.

According to Romanovsky, the Chancellor and the government officials of Austria have agreed to permit this festival to be held in Vienna. It was even dealt with officially on radio and television in Vienna and they have placed no obstacles in the way of this meeting. They permitted the setting up of the temporary Preparatory Committee.

Romanovsky said that the Socialist Youth Federation and the Social Democrats would not endorse or join in this World Youth Festival, although it is being held in Vienna. However, in view of the official action taken by the Austrian Government, Romanovsky doubts that the Social Democrats or the members of the Socialist Youth Federation will actively oppose the World Youth Festival. While they may try to keep their members from participating in it, they dare not oppose the decisions of the government.

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Romanovsky said that it should be kept in mind that this festival will take place in hostile surroundings. After all, Austria is a capitalist country and undoubtedly enemy agents will start working now and the festival will be deluged with such agents. Secondly, there will be a serious financial problem in connection with this festival. When it was held in Moscow the delegates were charged a very nominal fee, approximately \$2.00 a day, and were supplied with housing, meeting places and food. Even expense money was provided for those who needed it, particularly those in sympathetic delegations. Thus, all the delegations really needed was money for transportation to and from Moscow. In addition, some delegations received help through the international fund of the World Youth Festival Committee. He said that in Vienna they will probably price them to death or will try to do so. Thus, it will be necessary for the youth delegations or organizations to begin raising a little more money than last time. Yet, money will not be the main obstacle which will prevent delegation from going to Vienna since they can make appeals to this Preparatory Committee and will also be able to obtain some international funds of the World Youth Festival Committee.

Romanovsky cited figures to show that there has been a constant increase in attendance at the World Youth Festivals. The largest meeting was the one held in Moscow when about 30,000 delegates from all over the world were in attendance. He said that they do not expect as many delegates to go to Vienna and will be satisfied with an attendance of 18,000 to 20,000.

**INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CPUSA IN REGARD TO
THE 1959 WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN VIENNA**

Romanovsky suggested that I inform the Communist Party, USA about the 1959 World Youth Festival in Vienna. He suggested that the Communist Party, USA should meet with youth leaders and begin to make preparations right now. The Communist Party, USA should also urge as many youth organizations as possible to make contact with the Preparatory Committee in order to get information, official calls to the festival, etc.

Romanovsky also asked that a list of youth organizations in the United States be sent by the Communist Party, USA to the Preparatory Committee in Vienna so that the Preparatory Committee can circularize invitations to a broader group of

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organizations and people. He said that in this way they can help to keep out hostile organizations and enemy agents from penetrating and taking the lead at this festival which will be held, after all, in capitalist surroundings. Yet, there is a positive element in holding the festival in a capitalist country. He said that it was hard to get some people to go beyond the borders of the socialist countries to attend the festivals held in Warsaw, Prague and Moscow. It should be easy for people to travel to Vienna, if they are afraid of passport or visa difficulties, because the festival is being held in a capitalist country.

TRIP TO CHINA

I returned to Moscow from Sochi and was supposed to leave for China on June 25, 1958. I met with Nikolai Matkovsky and Aleksei Grechukhin. They told me that too many foreigners were on the plane leaving for Peking, China, on June 25, 1958. They thought that it would be more advisable if I left on June 28, 1958, and transferred at Irkutsk. The understanding was that I should be back in Russia by July 5, 1958. They stated, however, that they doubted that the Chinese comrades would let me leave in a hurry. Since Nikolai comes from Siberia, he was able to give me some advice in regard to what to expect in China.

Aleksei made all the arrangements, which included taking me to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. I reminded him that the Communist Party, USA, could pay for this trip to Peking. Aleksei became very angry at my remark. He said that I reminded him of a person in Chicago who asked, "Who among you is the GPU agent?" He said that is a silly question and stated that we are living in the first stages of communism and that means that money means nothing to us. Do you think we want you to give a thought to spending one penny here? Aleksei then said that I should not worry about a thing. He said that the Chinese would send me back in the same style. He also told me that he had arranged for somebody to meet me in Irkutsk. Irkutsk is a custom point between Russia and China. I was given Soviet money for the first time in order to buy food, et cetera, at the Irkutsk Airport. He said that I should turn in any Soviet money that I had at Irkutsk, since Russian money could not be taken out of the country. He also said that the baggage would be checked and that I would have to declare everything.

I packed everything which I was not taking to China with me and left those things at the apartment. I had gone through this same procedure when I left Moscow for the tour of Russia. I left for China on June 28, 1958, and arrived there on June 27, 1958.

I turned in my passport to the security police at Irkutsk. As I had been told, I was met by somebody at the airport at Irkutsk. My passport was returned to me. I could not spend any of the Soviet money, but the person who met me would not take it. I did not fill out any customs or money declarations.

I transferred to a small plane of the Chinese Airline. There were some foreigners on the plane, but they were chiefly Communists from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, who were on their way to China as parts of trade union delegations. None of these passengers spoke English. This was a Russian-built IL-14. There was a Chinese hostess and I did not know until the flight was almost completed that she spoke English. The Chinese, Russian and English languages are all used on these planes in regard to signs.

I had one other stop-over at Ulan Bator, the capital of Outer Mongolia. This is the place to which Molotov was exiled. I had another passport inspection here. This was something the Russians did not know, primarily because they did not know that I would be on this type of flight. They thought that I would have a non-stop flight from Irkutsk to Peking.

When the plane was ready to take off, someone remembered that none of the passports were returned. Finally, an official came running with the passports. I reported this incident in Peking and in Moscow. I was asked about this incident again just before I left Russia. Both the Russians and the Chinese were very much concerned about it.

The Chinese keep their planes epic-and-span. In fact, the planes are cleaner than those of the Russian Airline. The Chinese serve only sandwiches and hot tea on the planes.

Everyone in the plane became ill while we were flying over the Gobi Desert. The Chinese have a very mechanical method of flying. The altimeter is visible to the passengers. We went through clouds and thunder storms; yet, the altimeter stayed at two and one-half kilometers at all times. We were unable to obtain aspirin, but were given Russian anti-headache pills.

RECEPTION IN CHINA

When I arrived in Peking, one-half dozen or more people were lined up right on the airfield in order to greet me. A woman, named Yu Chi-ying, walked up to me. After I acknowledged that I was the person she was waiting to see, the following people walked up to greet me:

Wang Chia-hsiang, Member of the Secretariat and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Wang was the first Ambassador to Moscow after the Communist Party of China took over the government of

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China. He was one of the famous generals during the war of "liberation" of China. He was one of the military leaders of the Fifth Division of the Fourth Route Army. He wears a hearing aid as a result of an explosion, in which he also received other injuries. He has shrapnel in his stomach and is on a diet all the time.

Liu Ning-yi, Member of the Central Committee and one of the heads of the Trade Union Department. He recently attended the Peace Conference at Stockholm, Sweden.

Li Chu-li, Member of the Central Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Hsiung Fu.

Li Chi-hsin, Secretary of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He speaks English, and takes notes during meetings.

Tang Ming-chao (American name Chu Tong), Member of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He is a translator.

Lin Tang (American name Lem Tong), Member of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The above are not all members of the Central Committee, but are members of this International Liaison Department, which is headed by Wang Chia-hsiang.

I met them in proper order and greeted them. Waiting for me was the large curtained car. They all welcomed me to China. The greetings were very brief.

After the preliminary ceremonies, they told me that I should rest. I was told that Comrades Tang Ming-chao and Lin Tang would take me to my residence. A security man took my baggage checks and before I knew it, the baggage was loaded into a car and I was on my way. Peking has a new airport and this is where I landed. It is a long drive from the city. The old airport was not too good for jet planes, so they had to build a new

one. While they were building the new one, the jets had to land at the military airport, which is not too far away from this new airport. The new airport has modern structures and large runways. It has everything for the landing of jets. It is a nicer looking airport than the Moscow Airport, as far as the terminal is concerned. At this time I did not go into the terminal; but saw it from the outside. This airport is in the Eastern part of Peking. The old airport was in the Western part of Peking.

LIVING QUARTERS IN PEKING

From the airport, we drove along a new concrete highway which has newly planted shade trees off the shoulders. I do not know the address of the first place I stayed at for a couple of days. The street was more like an alley than a street. On the corner of this Peking-style street was a building occupied by the Ministry of Communications. I stayed in a house which is surrounded by a cement wall, as were the other houses in this neighborhood. There is barbed wire on the wall and over the roof of the house.

This house formerly belonged to a former war lord. The only distinctive mark about it was that it had Chinese red gates. The car was too wide to go through the gates. The house looks like a ranch-style house on three sides. The servants live on the outside portion of one wall and the gatehouse. The house is oblong in shape, with a courtyard in the center.

Each housing compound has its own security officer, who takes care of travel arrangements, passport arrangements, etc. He is also in charge of the cooks, the house boys, the gate keepers, the gardener and so on. He is in charge of the other employees in the house. He is not a political person and never participates in any discussions with the guests. I only saw him when I went out the gate or when he came to take care of some of my needs. The prime purpose of this individual is to serve and to give protection to the guests.

I occupied only one section of this house and had all the room I needed. I had a library, with all kinds of literature. When members of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China came to visit me and to have informal discussions with me, they used other quarters in the house, except during the actual discussions.

COMPOUND OF THE INTERNATIONAL
LIAISON DEPARTMENT OF THE COM-
MUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

After a couple of days, they moved my residence because they thought it was too warm. While I did not want to move, they suggested that perhaps I should move to the country or someplace where it is cooler.

They moved me to the compound of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The members and staff of this department live here and have their houses here. Tang Ming-chao and Yu Chi-ying and others live here.

It is a large new place and is still under construction. It is surrounded by a brick wall, with an electrified fence on the top of the wall. This fence is lighted with green lights at night in order to warn people that it is electrified. There are two entrances, with armed, uniformed sentries at the gates.

In this compound, there are a large number of apartment buildings, four or five stories high. There are also a number of guest houses, which look like two-story ranch-style houses with porches. They moved me into one of these guest houses and turned the entire house over to me. This house had many bedrooms, a study and a library. I never even opened the doors to some of the rooms.

This compound is located at the end of one of the side streets of Peking in a new development. It is located in the Western part of the city. Toward the end of a street, which I believed is called "Perpetual Peace", there is a parkway in the center of the street. Approximately one block or so to the left of this parkway is the location of this compound.

I saw a number of antennas in the compound, and on this same street they are building a new radio city. It is believed that they probably monitor international news at this location. Workers were still engaged in building this compound and live in barracks adjacent to the compound. The construction appeared to be superior to Russian construction. Frequently, radios blasted music and propaganda to the workers.

At this compound, two cooks were assigned, and I had my choice of Western-style or Chinese foods. The Chinese produce a very good tea and a thermos bottle filled with tea was at my disposal at all times. Despite the fact that the windows

were screened, the mosquitoes at this location were very bad. On the other hand, I never saw a fly all the time I was in China. I was told that the people had been organized in order to eliminate all flies. Persons were given quotas of flies each day to kill.

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIAISON
DEPARTMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

Both Tang Ming-chao and Lin Tang stayed with me the first evening, and were frequent visitors thereafter. They asked what kind of food I preferred -- Western or Chinese. Of course, I had to tell them that I preferred Chinese food.

These people spent hours with me, telling me about China and asking questions about the United States, and so on. I learned that Tang Ming-chao left the United States in 1951, and that Lin Tang left the United States in 1949. The wife of Tang Ming-chao left the United States even later than 1951, and came to China by way of Europe. Tang Ming-chao at one time worked in California. He knows a number of persons in the Communist Party - USA, including Party members in New York, in addition to California. Tang Ming-chao is a very educated person. He has many college degrees. He graduated from a university in the United States and was a teacher in China. He was scheduled to go to the Peace Conference in Stockholm, Sweden.

Lin Tang worked in New York chiefly, and at one time ran a restaurant with other Chinese on 10th Street, near the headquarters of the Communist Party - USA in New York City. He said that they tried to make money for a Chinese newspaper they were publishing; however, they went broke. He has been assigned to go to a Party school for one year. He was one of those selected from the International Liaison Department to go to this school. This will be the first time that he will be in attendance at a school where he will obtain a higher Party education. He told me that Yu Chi-ying went to a Party school for two years.

They immediately decided that I was dressed too warmly. Under some pretext, they called in a tailor and told him to measure me for new clothing. A tailor came the next evening. He had worked in Shanghai making clothes for the British. Within forty-eight hours, they brought the new clothing to me. While my suit was made of the best cloth, the style was not too good. I wore this suit at very important functions while I was in China.

They took security precautions similar to those taken by the Russians. I went out shopping only once or twice. They bought sport shirts for me and selected the kind that the Russians would buy. They also bought me coolie hats and sun glasses. They did not take me to any stores where I might run into any foreigners. I did not visit any department stores. In return for their gifts, I gave Tang Ming-chao's little girl a ball point pen. When I returned to Moscow, I gave these articles of clothing to Yuri Ivanov, Aleksei Grechukhin, and Nicolai Matkovsky.

There were a lot of things to talk about. They wanted to know about the Communist Party situation in the United States. They could tell me in very fluent English about the situation in China as a preliminary to the formal discussions with the other Party leaders.

Tang Ming-chao and Lin Tang were wonderful sources of information. Incidentally, the Chinese are much freer in conversations than the Russians. I attribute this to the fact that they are still new at the game. They have been in power only nine years. Since Tang Ming-chao and Lin Tang had spent a lot of time in the United States and had worked in the Communist Party - USA, they jokingly said that they have dual membership in the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party - USA. They supplied me with all kinds of literature. Through them, I was able to keep in constant contact with the Liaison Department, and my schedule was worked out very efficiently.

LETTER TO MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA FROM
THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COM-
MUNIST PARTY - USA

I wrote a letter to the Communist Party of China not long after my arrival in Peking. I addressed the letter to Mao Tse-tung and signed it as a representative of the Communist Party - USA. I selected June 30, 1958, to present the letter, because July 1, 1958, was the 37th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China. In the letter, I stated how happy I was to be in this liberated People's Republic of China. I said that we, the victims and sufferers of American imperialism, have been unable to keep in touch with brother Parties up until now. I repeated what I had said in the letter to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that the Communist Party - USA has laid the basis for this contact by dealing some blows against the revisionists.

In this letter, I also said that imperialism is going through a terrible crisis. I said that I had watched the enthusiasm of the masses and had seen how they are building Socialism in China. I said that I had been to their factories and had been out on their farms and had visited various institutions and watched

how the people follow the leadership of the Party. I congratulated them on the defeat of the Rightists. I told them how the American Communists are fighting for peace -- for the common objective. I said that we march under the same banner -- the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism. I said that we raise the banner of proletarian internationalism high.

Also in the letter, I said that we can learn many things from the Chinese Party during its period of oppression. Also, we can learn many things from the Chinese Party in regard to the achieving of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even though it is necessary to keep in mind the concrete, material conditions in each country, including class relationships, etc.

In this letter, I also told them that I was sent on a mission to talk to two Parties, the great Party of the Soviet Union and the great Party of China. I said that we could learn a lot from the Communist Party of China, just as we had learned from the experiences of the leading Party -- the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I ended the letter with a number of slogans, such as: "Long Live the Communist Party of China on its 37th Anniversary", "Hail the Leadership of the Communist Party of China", and "Long Life to its Leader -- MAO".

It should be noted that MAO does recognize that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading Party of Communism. The Chinese take it for granted that you must pay your respects to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the most experienced and leading Communist Party up to now. Further, they refer to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading Party of Communism in their public documents.

One prepares a letter of arrival and a letter of departure, both in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China did not ask for any biographies. They probably figured that I had prepared my biography for the Soviet Party.

MEETING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL LIAISON
DEPARTMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
CHINA

On June 28, 1958, I had the first formal meeting with Wang Chia-hsiang and other members of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Tang Ming-chao, with some help from Yu Chi-ying, acted as the translator. Li Chi-hsin wrote every word spoken.

Wang Chia-hsiang greeted me officially and said that he was happy that I was in China. He told me that they are happy that the Communist Party - USA defeated the revisionists and that this is a very important thing. He asked me to say a few words, and I gave an introductory report similar to the one I gave to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. When I finished, Wang Chia-hsiang spoke about the situation in the Communist Party - USA. He made comparisons between the Yugoslavs and the Gates forces in the Communist Party - USA. He said that revisionism is international and that there are no differences between the thinking of Tito and Gates. Then he made the following comments on Yugoslavia:

Comments of Wang Chia-hsiang on Yugoslavia

First of all, Wang wanted to acquaint me with the conditions in Yugoslavia before World War II. Wang stated that the Yugoslavs were an underground Party. This Party had two characteristics: (1) Narrow nationalism. This had as its basis the following: Yugoslavia as a nation went through a period of oppression. They were under the rule of Hungary and the Yugoslav people developed strong national sentiments. This sentiment found its way into the Communist Party; and (2) From the founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1922, it was legal only for a short period of time, but was mainly illegal. During these illegal days, there were strong factional fights and a division of the Party into groups and factions.

At the time of the occupation by the Nazis, the people fought fascism. The Communists participated in this fight, giving leadership to the partisans. During this period, the Party developed rapidly. Within a few years, Hitler was defeated. But Tito should not be credited for defeating the Nazis. The Soviet armies were responsible for this defeat.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia developed quickly, but became conceited and arrogant, like the newly rich, and looked down

on other people or, as Wang put it, on other People's Democracies. Yugoslavia even claimed that it defeated the Nazis and obtained their liberation without outside military assistance, while the other People's Democracies had to be liberated with the aid of the Red Armies. But, according to Wang, Tito cannot say this to the Chinese Communist Party, who fought for its own freedom and liberation.

Wang then went on to discuss the problem of help given Tito by the Soviet Union. First of all, the Soviet Union military defeated Hitler and helped Yugoslavia to liberate Belgrade. Without the Soviet Army liberating Belgrade, Tito could not have done it. Yugoslavia also received diplomatic assistance from the Soviet Union, which was just as important as military help in order to obtain political power.

At that time, there were two governments in existence in Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union helped Tito politically and diplomatically. The Soviet Union gave material and economic help. Thus, Tito was put into power in 1944 with the help of the Soviet Union. After their liberation, Yugoslavia began to dispute with the Soviet Union. In fact, there had been disputes even before the liberation. He reminded me that there was some inference that Winston Churchill sent his son to work in Tito's headquarters. According to Wang, the bourgeoisie had foresight and they used Tito for their ends. After liberation, Tito had invited experts from the Soviet Union. These were military, economic and industrial experts. This was necessary because the factories, railroads and other industries were destroyed during the war. Already during that period, Tito showed trends of revisionism.

In the United Nations, Yugoslavia's approach to foreign policy was such that it placed the United States and the Soviet Union on the same level. Aside from this political and diplomatic approach and the various disputes occurring at the beginning of the Tito regime, Tito developed theories such as: When the Communist Party takes State power, the Communist Party should not dominate the State or put forward its own program. A people's front may be enough in order to take power. According to Tito, class struggle should not be intensified within Yugoslavia. This, according to Wang and according to all Communists, is revisionism. This concerned one of the most important problems -- the need for a vanguard Party to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, which Tito already in the early days, ostensibly denied, at least in theory.

In addition, the relationship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became tense. There were many disputes regarding work of Soviet experts in Yugoslavia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed thrashing out these things at the Cominform, but the Communist Party of Yugoslavia refused.

Wang asked me if I remembered that in 1947, after the formation of the Cominform, Tito was critical of the French and Italian Communist Parties. But when Tito was up for criticism, he refused to attend the Cominform meetings. These revisionist erroneous theories further developed, as pointed out in the 1940 Resolution adopted by the Cominform. Perhaps the method of criticism, as contained in that resolution, was not correct or exact, because this resolution of the Cominform asked for the overthrow of the Tito regime. It asked all healthy elements of the Communist movement to unite for that purpose. At that time, the erroneous theories of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were not too well known to the world. But these theories, nevertheless, were criticized in the resolution adopted by the Cominform, and this criticism was basically correct in 1940, although Wang repeated that the method of criticism employed was not so good. Tito refused to attend the Cominform after the adoption of this resolution.

Wang then stated that in 1949, Tito launched an anti-Soviet campaign. In 1949, the Cominform adopted a resolution calling Tito an agent provocateur. According to Wang, this was not so good. The situation of tension and strain between the Communist Parties, and particularly between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, prevailed until 1954. In 1954, upon the initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, steps were taken to improve the relations with Yugoslavia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union consulted with the Communist Party of China. Wang said that the Chinese Communist Party supported this initiative. He foresaw two possibilities: (1) After efforts on the part of the Communist camp, Yugoslavia would correct itself. At least we thought this was a possibility; and (2) That Yugoslavia would not correct its mistakes and continue on its path as it did in the 1940s.

From early 1954 to 1956, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Communist Parties did their utmost to improve their relations with the League of Yugoslav Communists. We thought these steps necessary. As a result of the good intentions and the work of the other Communist Parties, Tito became even more arrogant.

Parenthetically speaking, Wang meant that Tito thought these Communist Parties were bowing to him; that they were admitting mistakes without pointing to any mistakes Yugoslavia may have made.

In 1957, Tito wanted all Communist Parties in Eastern Europe to bow to him and follow the same pattern that the League of Yugoslav Communists had been following. Tito began to pose as an anti-Stalin hero. He encouraged the counter-revolutionary movement or the anti-Party movement in Hungary. In 1956, Tito made a speech at Pola, Yugoslavia. Tito said that in the international Communist movement, there are two lines: A pro-Stalin line and a Yugoslav line. Tito stated that the other Communist Parties should follow him.

Wang said that the Chinese Communist Party criticized this speech of Tito, as did other Communist Parties. Wang stated that the Chinese Communist Party, at that time, showed the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Parenthetically speaking, I might add that the Tito line denies the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to Wang, in the spring of 1957, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held meetings in Rumania with Tito, and they asked Tito to bring the disputes into the open. There was a meeting in Bucharest at that time. Tito then promised there would be no more disputes and that he would attend an international meeting to draw up a document of agreement with the other Communist Parties. In November, 1957, the brother Communist Parties gathered in Moscow on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution. In the meantime, Tito had backed down and claimed illness as an excuse for not attending the meeting in Moscow. Tito's delegates, who were present in Moscow, refused to participate in the meeting with the Parties of the other Socialist countries, and they did not sign the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. Yet, there still was no criticism of Tito by the other Parties.

Wang then stated that in the beginning of 1958, the League of Yugoslav Communists held a plenum. They issued a declaration giving the reasons why they did not sign the Twelve-Party Declaration. They just said that they did not agree with the viewpoint of the Declaration. But even at this late date, there still was no criticism of the League of Yugoslav Communists.

The Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists convened at the end of April, 1958. In March, 1958, they published a draft program and sent duplications to all Communist Parties. Wang stated that the Chinese Communist Party received a copy. When the Communist Party of China received a copy of the draft program, Wang said that we thought the question over and came to the conclusion that we could not send fraternal delegates to this Congress. We came to the same conclusion as the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union. Before the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published an article in the "Kommunist". Wang said, We, the Chinese Communists, did not write anything. We read this article in the "Kommunist" and we thought the criticism was quite gentle. But during this Congress, Tito and his followers in the leadership launched an attack on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

Parenthetically speaking, I was given a copy of this draft program to read.

Wang said this program does not look like a program from one country. It takes on the form of an international Party. This program is divided as follows:

It gives an estimation of the Capitalist world and it says that the Capitalist world has two-thirds of the world population, while the Socialist world has one-third. This program also contained an estimation of Capitalism. When it develops into monopoly Capitalism, it changes its nature. As regards the State apparatus of monopoly Capitalism, according to the Titotes, this State does not represent any class. The State rather is a regulator of the class relations. The State limits monopoly Capitalism. Gradually, State Capitalism comes into being, and they prove this by saying that many enterprises in Capitalist countries have been nationalized, and these nationalized enterprises are elements of Socialism. The program of the League of Yugoslav Communists also says that in the countries of monopoly Capitalism, it is not necessary for the proletariat to overthrow the State apparatus. Also, that the pressure of the working class upon the State apparatus will gradually bring Socialism into being. The Yugoslavs emphasize that the whole world is undergoing a process of gradually moving to Socialism.

With regard to the estimation of the Capitalist world, according to the program of the Yugoslavs, monopoly capitalism will gradually move to State Capitalism, and State Capitalism already has within its elements of Socialism. The proletariat of these countries do not need to carry on a revolutionary struggle -- that is, in the more developed Capitalist countries. In the more backward Capitalist countries, such as India, they are travelling to Socialism via a special path. According to the Yugoslavs, there is some Socialism in India already. The State-owned enterprises in these countries are Socialist. The League of Yugoslav Communists close their eyes to the fact that these countries are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and that the State apparatus is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Development of

Capitalism in these countries still contain elements of progress. This is the significance of the State enterprises. But it is a development of Capitalism, not Socialism.

Wang stated that the Yugoslavs, in their program, portray a very poor picture of the Communist Parties in the entire Capitalist world. The Yugoslavs say that these Communist Parties are no good. They say these Parties are dogmatic, sectarian and divorced from the masses, and they take orders from abroad. The idea of Socialism cannot be found only in the Communist Parties. In certain advanced Capitalist countries, meaning chiefly the United States and England, where the Communist Parties are small and play a minor role, the Yugoslavs say the leadership of the trade unions will lead the working class to Socialism.

Parenthetically speaking, in this part of the program, the United States is mentioned and the American Communist Party is mentioned in the most negative terms. The Yugoslavs do not see a need for the American Communist Party. This is what aroused Eugene Dennis to write an article concerning Yugoslavia, which appeared in "The Worker".

To summarize in brief, according to Wang, in the Capitalist world monopoly Capitalism is good, because it is on the road to State Capitalism, is the thesis of the Yugoslav program. (Other Communist Parties agree with this analysis of the Yugoslav program by Wang.) But the Communist Parties in the Capitalist world are no good.

In regard to the question of the two systems which exist -- that is, Capitalism and Socialism -- Wang stated: In our opinion the world is divided into the Socialist world and the Capitalist world. The Yugoslav Communists say that the world is divided into two blocks -- military and political. In this program, the Yugoslavs analyze reasons for the existence of these two blocks. They start their analysis by dealing with the period after World War II, and they point out that there is a struggle going on between these two blocks, which can be characterized as a struggle for hegemony of the big powers and a struggle for spheres of influence. The Yugoslavs say that this is proved by the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. These conferences show that the United States and the Soviet Union strive for the same goals -- hegemony.

In their program, the Yugoslavs go on to say that the foreign policy of Stalin was too rigid and harsh. It was this that compelled the Capitalist countries to form military blocks.

Parenthetically speaking, when the Communists read this portion of the Yugoslav program, they become enraged. According to them, imperialism is responsible for world tensions.

Not long ago, according to Wang, Tito gave an interview to correspondents of United States newspapers. A reporter asked him, Who is the greatest man in the world? Tito named Winston Churchill. And after Tito named Churchill, he named Eisenhower. He did not name Khrushchev. Tito only said that Khrushchev's foreign policy was more flexible. From this, according to Wang, we can see the Yugoslav estimation of the world situation -- that is, that there are two blocks, but the danger of war does not come from United States imperialism, but is due to the strong and harsh policy of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the danger of war must come from the USSR.

Wang stated that in this program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, there is not a single word mentioning the United States as imperialistic, although this is a very large document. This document also mentions the economic aid given to Yugoslavia and says that the United States gave this aid without political conditions. The aid given by the United States, according to the Yugoslavs, has nothing to do with "interference in internal affairs" but as regards the aid given to Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union, the Yugoslavs were not treated as equals and the Soviet Union tried to interfere in Yugoslav affairs, and that the Soviet Union acts like a big nation.

With regard to foreign policy, the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists says that they are for peaceful co-existence, etc. But in actuality, Yugoslavia helps United States imperialism and directs its main attack against the USSR. In the program, there are several chapters dealing with the USSR. Why should they deal with the USSR? This is supposed to be a Yugoslav program. But with regard to the USSR, this program states that it is a bureaucratic state, and that this bureaucratic State developed during the Stalin regime and remained that way. In the Soviet Union, they say the means of production now are concentrated in the hands of the State, and the State becomes a monopolist and the State stands over the people. Therefore, the State is a "totalitarian, bureaucratic apparatus". Thus, there is an antagonistic and irreconcilable gulf between the State and the people.

In this program, the Yugoslavs state that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries want to lead their respective countries. Thus, the Yugoslavs say that the Party and the State are identical and have become bureaucratic and totalitarian. This is why there is no democracy in the Soviet Union and in other Socialist countries, according to the Yugoslavs.

Wang stated that in Yugoslavia, they say they have a real democracy. The Yugoslavs say that they have self-government of the people and a workers' democracy. In Yugoslavia, the means of production are in the hands of workers in respective factories, and not in the hands of the State. The League of Yugoslav Communists also say that they do not play the role of the leader of the State. They say they are an organization which carries on political and educational activity, and not an institution which monopolizes the leadership of the State.

The League of Yugoslav Communists once carried the name "Communist Party". It was later that they changed their name into a "League" instead of a "Party".

The Yugoslavs further claimed that the State in Yugoslavia is withering away, but this is not so in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Yugoslavs are the real Marxists. Wang referred to Marx, Engels and Lenin, and their conception of the state and pointed out that they stated that after the suppression of the counter-revolution, the State will wither away. The Yugoslavs said the State would wither away when the antagonism of the classes disappear. The Yugoslavs charge that the Soviet Union is violating this Marxian concept; and since they believe in the withering away of the State, they, the Yugoslavs, are the real Marxists. But in Yugoslavia, this conception of Marx, Engels and Lenin is reversed, according to Wang. The Yugoslavs say that the State should not even play a leading role in social and economic matters. Wang stated that these are deceptive statements, and that Tito is trying to deceive the people with such an interpretation of Marxism.

Wang stated that the Yugoslavs say that they fought the cult of the individual in Yugoslavia. In actuality, according to Wang, the cult of the individual is most serious in Yugoslavia. Wang stated that the Chinese Ambassador to Yugoslavia observed and saw with his own eyes the following slogan: "Tito is us and we are Tito". The League of Yugoslav Communists have been saying the State has been withering away. Wang stated that the fact is that Yugoslavia has the highest percentage of security forces than any other Socialist country.

The Yugoslavs say they are very democratic. Wang stated, however, that Tito and his group have rigid control of the country. Here Wang emphasized that during the four days of sessions of the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, only nine people took the floor. He mentioned that seven or eight of these nine members of the League of Yugoslav Communists are on the Central Committee.

The Yugoslavs say that the factories in Yugoslavia are owned by the workers. Wang stated that in actuality, they are controlled by a clique. Wang said that when the factory makes money, the workers get a bonus. When it does not make money, the workers do not even get their wages.

Wang went on to say that the League of Yugoslav Communists and Tito have already degenerated. He stated that revisionism in Yugoslavia already had roots in 1946, but now it has fully developed and is systemized, as shown in their program. Wang stated that all these years Yugoslavia received aid from the United States, amounting to almost three billion dollars, which bought economic and military aid. This is equivalent to 4% of the national income, or equivalent to 20% of the national budget of Yugoslavia. Wang pointed out that it is clear that the United States Government gave large sums of money to Yugoslavia for services rendered, obviously for help to United States imperialism. Wang stated that the United States Government had certain intentions. It wanted Yugoslavia to camouflage itself under the banner of Socialism, Communism, etc. Wang stated that Tito's role is to glorify Capitalism, imperialism, and the American Government. The imperialists wanted Tito to attack the Socialist countries. That is exactly what Tito is doing.

Wang stated that if we say that in the past, before World War I, imperialism developed, exploited colonies, derived super profits and gave crumbs to feed the labor aristocracy to disarm the militancy of the working class, now we can say that the United States has expended large sums of money to Tito to make Yugoslavia play the role of a disrupter and saboteur in the international working class movement, to disarm the militant and revolutionary ideas of the working class. This the United States got from Tito. These are the relations between Tito and the United States. The United States imperialists wanted to disrupt the unity of the Socialist camp and the Communist movement. Wang stated that Tito is doing exactly that.

To sum up, Wang stated that Tito and his clique have become degenerated. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism. They have betrayed the working class. They are traitors to the working class. Therefore, it is necessary for us, the Communists, to remove this camouflage from Tito, to take away the name "Communist", Socialism, Marxism-Leninism, or that he is a supporter of peace. Wang stated that the League of Yugoslav Communists should be exposed so the whole world would know who they are.

The Yugoslavs said, Why not have friendly discussions and criticize us? Wang stated that the fact is that the League of

Yugoslav Communists closed the door to criticism on ideology, theory and tactics. All this criticism was refused or rejected.

In the Lapu (ph) speech, Tito called China war mongers. Wang stated, We can see that Tito and his leading group do not dare to discuss the essence of this problem.

Concerning the emergence of the revisionist views contained in the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, Wang stated that these views existed even before 1940-1949, but not in one organized program as it is now. Wang said these views came out occasionally in speeches. Wang stated that because of the methods used by the Soviet Party, the Soviet Union and the Cominform, in 1940, it is necessary for us to take active steps to win over the followers of Tito. Wang said this needs to be done, even if it takes a few years.

In regard to the co-operation of Tito with the Social Democracies, in 1940 and 1949 the Yugoslav Party severed relations with all the Communist Parties, but developed close relations with the Social Democratic Parties of Norway, Sweden, etc., the French Socialists and the British Labor Party. Tito made visits to these places. But these Social Democratic Parties were not too satisfied with Tito and his clique. They were not interested in this camouflage of Communism.

Wang further stated that not long ago Tito arrested some members of the Social Democratic Party. Tito and his leading group are only interested in material aid. Their main concern is how to get more money.

Wang went on to talk about Tito's Ambassador to China, in that he was interfering in the internal affairs of China. He said that the bourgeois Rightists wrote letters to the Yugoslav Embassy and all letters were answered and material enclosed. Wang said, We got these answers and replies which they received. The Yugoslavs did not want interference from us, but they are experts at interfering. Now we are writing articles and editorials to expose Yugoslav revisionism. Wang stated that perhaps later the United States will see if it pays to subsidize Tito. Then the time may come when there will be no more aid. There will be no more services to be performed by Yugoslavia to United States imperialism. In the meantime, the Yugoslavs are trying to disrupt the Communist Parties of the Capitalist world. They want to turn all Parties into their own image.

Wang stated, We make a clear distinction between Tito and the Yugoslav people. Care should be taken not to hurt the

national sentiment of the Yugoslav people. Tito is making use of this national sentiment in order to retain control. Efforts are being made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Parties in this direction to influence the people of Yugoslavia. The people will draw their lessons. They will think and ask: Why is the State now in the hands of Tito and his group? The honest elements in the League of Yugoslav Communists, the Marxists, are in a difficult position. It is not so easy to overthrow Tito. Wang stated that the day will come when a traitor like Tito will disappear.

Wang stated that after the Chinese criticized and repudiated Yugoslav revisionism, many Communists in Yugoslavia tried to flee. Tito had them arrested. This was proof that there are still some healthy elements in Yugoslavia, according to Wang.

Wang concluded his remarks by again informing me that the Dennis article concerning Yugoslavia and its revisionism had been published in their press. He said that the attitude of the Chinese Communists regarding revisionism is identical to that of the Communist Party - USA, but that it is more difficult for the American Communists to deal with revisionism.

Wang stated that Tito said the Chinese Communist Party is afraid of public opinion. But in 1956, the Chinese Party printed Tito's Pola speech. He stated, we also published the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists. Wang said that the Chinese people became angry when reading this program. He said that the Yugoslav press did not print a word concerning the attitude of the Chinese.

Wang said that the Chinese people are being educated. They read everything that we print and they make their own judgement. Wang stated that the masses will see for themselves that Marxism-Leninism is superior to Tito's revisionism.

Conclusion of this Meeting

Wang Chia-hsiang then asked me questions almost similar to those asked by the leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He asked me about the health of William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, etc. I answered this question and told them about the other members of the Secretariat of the Communist Party - USA. Wang Chia-hsiang asked me about the relationship between Foster and Dennis. He asked if there are really any serious problems in regard to political thinking between them. I replied that as of now, I know of no serious political differences between them which are of a principle nature. I said that they may have

some differences of opinion on estimations of some things, but there are no real serious differences. I said that the overwhelming majority of the Communist Party - USA voted to retain the vanguard Party.

There were some other questions about the economy in the United States, about the legality of the Communist Party - USA, about the comrades in prison, and I answered all of these questions.

This meeting lasted a couple of hours. They served tea every few minutes during the meeting.

MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO-PING, GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

On July 2, 1950, I met with Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China. This was not just a meeting with him as an individual. I was driven to the Party headquarters, which is a former Ming palace and is known as Chung Nan Hai. There are guards at the gates. These may be security police. This is really a compound consisting of several buildings.

There was a group waiting for me at the door. They came out to greet me in a very formal fashion. The group included Teng Hsiao-ping, Wang Chia-hsiang, and the members of the International Liaison Department, previously mentioned. There were also other persons who I did not know. I could not remember the names of the others to whom I was introduced. Some are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

We went into a large room. It was like a hall. We sat at both sides of a large table. Part of the hall was screened off because they were preparing a luncheon to be served after the conclusion of the meeting. A more or less unofficial discussion continued at the luncheon.

Teng Hsiao-ping was seated opposite me. He is about 5'1" tall, is about 55 years of age, and has a rosy complexion. He was dressed rather formally, by Chinese standards. The only time the Chinese ever dress up is for a formal occasion or for a meeting with leaders of the Communist Party. Li Chi-hsi took notes and wrote down every word. Tang Ming-chao and Yu Chi-ying did the translating. Except for an occasional question addressed to me by Wang Chia-hsiang, such as "Do you agree?", everyone else remained quiet as Teng Hsiao-ping spoke.

Remarks of the Representative of the
Communist Party - USA

Teng Hsiao-ping welcomed me to China. He said he was glad to meet with a leader of the American Communist Party. He then asked if I would mind introducing the discussion by giving them some idea about what is happening in the Communist Party - USA and in the United States in general.

I gave them a section of the report which I had prepared for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By that time I had learned that the Russians do not, as a matter

of routine or even as a matter of procedure, give anything to other Parties which they have received from another Communist Party. From the members of the International Liaison Department, I learned that the Russians had not furnished the Communist Party of China any of the information which I had given to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the Communist Party - USA. Otherwise, I would have hesitated to repeat what I had said to the Russians. I changed it a little, but not too much.

Remarks of Teng Hsiao-ping

Teng stated that there is such a thing as United States imperialism and that the fight against United States imperialism is the main struggle on the international field. He stated, When we can defeat United States imperialism, this will be the proof -- the test -- that Socialism is superior to Capitalism. He said that United States imperialism is the sharpest opponent in the Nationalist and Socialist struggle. He also stated that the Communist Party of China has the same aim as the Communist Party - USA.

Teng said that the Chinese comrades feel that the American Communists face many difficulties. He said, We also believe that you are working all right and that numbers are not important. The first International founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had only four hundred people. There were only several thousand Bolsheviks at the time of the October Revolution. He stated that the Chinese Party started with only a handful. In fact, there were twenty-eight people present when the Chinese Communist Party was founded. Then he reminded me that Tung Pi-wu was one of the twenty-eight founders of the Chinese Communist Party. He said that not only was the Chinese Communist Party small in the beginning, but it made mistakes and became smaller. After that, there was growth.

Then Teng said that the important thing is to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We believe that the Communist Party - USA held up this banner bravely. We knew that you faced a difficult situation during your 16th Congress. We did not know the details, but we knew that Gates was spreading revisionism. However, we had confidence in the American Communist Party. We felt that Dennis and Foster would solve these difficulties. He said that if there is a Communist Party in the United States, it is not influenced by the revisionist ideas of John Gates. There is no need for a Communist Party if revisionism prevails. He said, however, that the "Daily Worker" was useful no matter how much Gates tried to distort the policies of the paper and of the Party. He said that Gatesism and all revisionism is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet.

Next, Teng said that it has been proven that once there is a clear banner of Marxism-Leninism, then revisionism can be eliminated and the Party can move forward when revisionism is cleared up. He said that the situation in the United States proves that what the masses wanted was Marxism-Leninism, and not revisionism, which is the voice of the bourgeoisie. He said that he is happy with the results of the February plenum of the Communist Party - USA. These results were achieved because of the struggle against revisionism. He stated that it is true that a few members of the Communist Party - USA have dropped away, but the Party will become stronger. Perhaps you saved some of the membership, but who knows, maybe the results will be better if some more drop out.

Continuing, Teng stated, Your last meeting of the National Executive Committee showed that the revisionists were an obstacle when they participated in the leadership of the Communist Party - USA. It is better to have a smaller Party, but a fighting one. The Party is not a debating society. After the February sessions of your plenum and your endorsement of the Declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, your decisions brought joy to the comrades here. We never had any doubt but that the United States Communist Party would achieve this result. We realize that you face many difficulties. We know that the enemy is powerful. We also know that some of the ideas in the Communist Party - USA reflect the social foundations of imperialism.

Teng Hsiao-ping said, Comrade Mao raised a question with us. Who is stronger in the United States? The Communist Party or Dulles? Mao said, Dulles and the United States monopoly capital will be done away with. They have no future. Even if the membership of the Communist Party - USA continues to decrease, the future belongs to the Communist Party in the United States. In the end, the people will realize that the Communist Party represents their interests. Of course, the United States is the strongest imperialist State. However, Comrade Mao thinks that United States imperialism is a paper tiger and the most nervous man in the world is John Foster Dulles. Dulles is confronted with trouble which develops here, there, and everywhere.

Expanding this thought, Teng stated that a proletarian Party may be small, but the future belongs to it. More people in a Party may not necessarily always mean more strength. Take Yugoslavia, for example. The population of Yugoslavia is seventeen million. The Party membership in Yugoslavia is seven hundred thousand. This means that there are two and one-half Communists for every one hundred persons. To be a big Party does not necessarily mean to be a good Party. The Yugoslav Communists have State power, but there is no future for such

a Party because it has discarded Marxism-Leninism. It cannot claim to be a Marxist-Leninist Party. It is a revisionist Party. A Party such as this cannot help but to degenerate. The ideological banner is wrong. The United States Communist Party may be small, but it raises high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. It is ideologically correct and it is moving in a correct direction.

Then Teng said to me, We like you. You are full of confidence, as the American Party should be. He went on to say that the Chinese are happy over the general situation in the Communist Party - USA. He said we firmly believe that work will develop the Communist Party - USA.

Another most important thing that we would like the Communist Party - USA to keep in mind is something that Comrade Mao said, and that is that the golden period or the golden age of United States imperialism is over. The East wind prevails over the West wind.

Teng stated that the economic conditions in the United States make it difficult for the worker to accept revolutionary ideas. However, there is an economic crisis developing now. Yet, even after a certain period of recovery, the general direction will be downward and the markets for United States imperialism will narrow. A revolutionary situation will eventually develop.

Then Teng said, We are doing one thing that is proof to the whole world that the Socialist countries are better off than the Capitalist countries. The slogan in the Soviet Union today is to surpass the United States in every field. In some aspects, the United States has already been surpassed, but has not been bettered in every field as yet. We want to surpass England. We said we would do it in fifteen years or less. We said fifteen years. Now we say seven and one-half years or less. For instance, in steel production we have them beaten now. To say that we can surpass England in three or four years may be a conservative estimate. It may be that we will do it in one and one-half years. Last year, we announced as a base for 1959-1960 a little over five and one-half million tons of steel. Yet, by 1959-1960, we will surpass Britain and will be producing more than twenty-two million tons. The rate of speed of Capitalism differs from ours. This is what guarantees our victory. Next year, we will surpass England in coal. We will surpass England in other fields in two or three years. Of course, these figures do not take into consideration the difference in the total population of the two countries. These figures are not per capita production.

Teng stated that this is not the result of fifteen years of propaganda. There must be accomplishment before we talk. Some things we do publicize. Next year, we will publicize the slogan of "22 million tons of steel -- catch up with England". But we will have no difficulties in doing this. We have prepared the ground for it. We are even thinking that it is possible to catch up with the United States. Exactly how long it will take is hard to say now. We do not think that it will take long. Our aim is to catch up with England and the United States.

Continuing, Teng stated that all of this has a great deal to do with the strengthening of the Socialist camp. It is also related to the improvement of the material and cultural life of our people. This will also be proof to the world as to who is on the right side of history. Tito said it is Capitalism. We say something different. All the Communist Parties in the Capitalist countries are carrying on propaganda showing the superiority of the Socialist system over the Capitalist system. We will prove this with concrete facts and production. We owe you a debt. What we are doing is using our action to prove what you are saying as propaganda. The United States worker will learn that you are correct. Then the United States worker will be able to tell whether the words of Eisenhower or Stevenson are better than the words of Foster or Dennis. We believe that they will say the words of Foster and Dennis are better.

With the strength and effort of the Socialist camp, with the unanimity that prevails in the Socialist camp, we think we will succeed. The United States looks down upon us now, but we dealt with them in Korea. We also dealt with them at Geneva. Of course, there were no results at Geneva. But this indicates one thing. The United States did not want to break the truce. Why does the United States want to negotiate in Geneva? They are shaky. United States imperialism pretends and bluffs. But, as Mao said, it is a paper tiger. This was correct before. This is correct now. We have no fear of United States imperialism and neither should you.

Then Teng said that there were no talks at Geneva for three months at an Ambassadorial level. We gave notice. Continue talks in fifteen days at an Ambassadorial level or discontinue them. The United States State Department was in difficulty. Teng stated that Lincoln White said, Of course, we will send an Ambassador, but we will not be limited by the fifteen days. However, we insist that we will not be worried whether or not the talks continue.

Teng stated, the United States thinks that we want to go into the United Nations and thinks that we are anxious for

acclaim or are worried about the embargo. All these measures will not hurt us. We think that going into the United Nations is all right; but if we are not allowed in the United Nations with our six hundred million people, this is no credit to the United Nations. But it is no harm to us. They figure we are anxious to go into the United Nations and they are wrong. In fact, we think it is better to be without recognition. England recognized us, but we are not satisfied. At the beginning, they only had a negotiator. After Geneva, they appointed a Charge d' Affairs. But we are not bothered at all by this lack of recognition. When we produce 120 million tons of steel, let them worry. There will be a day when they will have to recognize us. There will also be a day when the United States worker will recognize us. We will wait until the day the Communist Party - USA wins.

We might even say that we are grateful to the United States for the embargo. In fact, the imperialist embargo was a factor which helped us and the other Socialist States to develop our economies. We are now more dependent upon ourselves. When we are forced to think things out and to solve our own problems, things develop rapidly.

Turning his attention to Japan, Teng stated that Japan is acting kind of tricky and naughty in Taiwan and is trying to pursue a two-faced or a double policy. Japan is pretending that they are going to deal with us, but actually they are pawns of United States imperialism. We are going to slap Japan down. Japan is caught in a vise. Either Japan will pursue a friendly policy or we will not deal with the Japanese. Japan thinks that we have to depend on her and that we have to buy from her for the leap forward. Japan insulted our flag recently. Now there will be no buying and no selling. This policy will help us, for now we will produce our own things and solve our own problems. Whether it is the United States or Japan, and whatever they do -- whatever course they follow -- really helps us. Except for the armed forces, we have no policy for giving medals. But if we are to pass out medals, we will give the first one to Dulles and the second one to the Premier of Japan.

Yugoslavia has charged that we are against revisionism because of internal difficulties. We printed the text of Tito's program and we let the Chinese people read it and judge for themselves. In general, what the imperialists are doing is helping us. The United States imperialist support of Chiang Kai-shek helped us. United States support of Syngman Rhee is of help to us. Help to Taiwan is help to us.

Next, Teng said, What we are doing supplements the work of the Communist Party - USA. Things are developing well.

in the USSR and things are good in the other Socialist countries, too. Especially if we keep in mind the events of the previous October, things are much better in Hungary now. The imperialists have been saying things about Poland, but Gomulka cleared this up recently in a speech.

The Communist movement, after the Moscow Conference, is in good shape. We are all united now for the same purpose. We are very hopeful about the entire situation. Perhaps DeGaulle's coming to power in France is a good thing. The French Communist Party is confident, too. We conclude that the world belongs to the Socialist countries -- to the Communist Parties.

Teng said, It seems to us that the downward trend in the economy is creating more and more difficulties for the United States. Previously, the United States publicized its superiority in technology. But the first Sputnik destroyed that. Even we have surpassed the United States in wheat production. In the past, we used to get small crops. Now things are changed. This year, wheat production in China is second only to that of the USSR. The United States is third. We have the highest record for wheat production, forty-two tons per hectare. We want to compete with the United States and the other Capitalist countries.

Next, Teng Hsiao-ping said that in world relations, there is either peace or war. The Moscow Declaration stated that all Communist Parties want peace. We want peace because this will give us an opportunity to finish Capitalism off peacefully. We can surpass the Capitalists in every line. Then the people will decide who to go with. But if the Capitalists want war, we have no control over them. As Mao said, We are not the Chief of Staff of Eisenhower, but we are not afraid if they want war. The Declaration of the twelve Communist Parties clarified this. If the war mongers will start a war, they will be burned. There will be loss of life. There will be destruction, but many countries will have their revolution faster. If they want war, we are not afraid. To want peace does not mean that one is afraid of war. We do not want war because we can build more rapidly under peace. But Ike and Dulles will have to decide whether or not they want war. If they decide on war, let's have it. One thing is certain, and that is that in war they will be the losers. They will be the losers in peace or war, but they will be bigger losers in war.

Continuing, Teng said that Marx stated a long time ago that the time for Capitalism to lose itself in the stage of history has come. We should fight for peace and not be afraid

of war. We fight for peace because this is the aspiration of all people. The more we are afraid of war, the greater the chances for war. The Capitalist world will have to be careful. The USSR is not afraid of war. They have missiles and Sputniks; so, for this reason, Tito accused us, particularly China, of being war mongers.

The United States Government knows we are not afraid.. You, in the Communist Party - USA, should educate your people to the fact that we are fighting for peace but that we are not afraid of war. We educate our people and then we can take care of any situation. This principle is also true for the Parties in the Capitalist countries in any situation. We work under one principle.

Teng Hsiao-ping concluded by saying that we are happy about the situation in the Communist Party - USA. We think you are doing good work. Clouds cannot cover the sun. Sometimes we may have clouds, but they cannot cover the sun. Hungary, Yugoslavia and John Gates cannot cover the sun. Nagy cannot cover the sun. With regard to experience on tactical problems, you learn mainly from failures. Of course, you also learn from successes. How to work in the underground is a big problem. Sometimes the Communist method is not used in this work.. It is necessary to have legal and illegal methods. Two sets of leadership may be necessary sometimes so that the enemy does not catch you by surprise. In conclusion, he told me that I should study the legal and illegal methods used by the Communist Party of China.

Conclusion of this Meeting

When Teng Hsiao-ping finished speaking, we adjourned to the luncheon table. On this table, there was all kinds of food, including two dozen main dishes and a variety of desserts. There was also Chinese vodka, wines and other liquors. Teng is a heavy drinker. We made all kinds of toasts to the health of the leadership of both the Communist Party - USA and the Communist Party of China. Everyone joined in the informal discussion which took place around the luncheon table.

POSSIBILITY THAT MAO TSE-TUNG MAY
RELINQUISH HIS POSITION AS CHAIRMAN
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

Prior to the time I left Russia for China, both Aleksei Grechukhin of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as [redacted] who was known as [redacted] in school in Russia, had discussed Mao Tse-tung with me. Aleksei said that Mao has been placing a lot of emphasis on theory and has said that every Communist Party leader should be allowed time to think and to write. [redacted] who said that he has been working out of a department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said that he had heard that about one year ago, Mao asked for his release and that at that time, too, Mao said that communist leaders at one time or another need to revert back to the stage of philosophers so they can study the world and interpret it. Since life is short, some of the communist leaders ought to leave their imprint by writing about theoretical problems of communism. So, Mao asked for a leave of absence to be able to engage in such study, philosophical contemplation, and writing for at least a few years. This was the Soviet version.

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I learned from Wang Chia-hsiang, member of the Secretariat, Central Committee, and head of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China, that he has already raised with the leadership of the Communist Party of China and some other communist governments, the possibility of Mao Tse-tung relinquishing his position as Chairman of the Government of China. Mao, in addition to being Chairman of the Government of China, is also Chairman of the Communist Party of China. He is 65 years of age. He believes that any years beyond 65 are surplus for a revolutionary.

I was told by both Wang Chia-shiang and Tang Hing-chao that Mao wants to do some writing and philosophical thinking. Therefore, he wants to be relieved of his Government position. He will agree to remain Chairman of the Communist Party for a few years after he has been relieved of his post in the Government. The Party tried to talk him out of this. Influential non-Party people also tried to talk him out of this, but he is adamant. He said that unless there is some kind of a national emergency within the next year or two and in any case not later than 1960, he will insist upon being relieved as the head of the Government. I was told that this information should be limited to only one or two leaders in the Communist Party, USA, so that when it happens, if the bourgeois press wants to distort the facts, the Communist Party, USA, will be aware of the situation.

It was emphasized that this is entirely a voluntary decision on the part of Mao. It was also pointed out that this decision has nothing to do with the health of Mao or with politics. It was said that he is the most popular figure and that he could at any time he desires demote every other leader in the Communist Party of China.

I observed that wherever you go in China, you see emphasis on Mao in the form of photographs, statues, etc. It is almost like a cult of the individual. His policies are the policies which prevail.

It was also emphasized that Mao has no health problem. He takes physical exercises whenever he has an opportunity. He swims for a couple of hours a day. His retirement would not be due to poor health.

MEETING WITH MAO TSE-TUNG

I did not know until a few hours beforehand that I was going to meet with Mao. On Sunday evening, July 6, 1956, Tang Hing-chao and Yu Chi-ying told me that they had just talked to Comrade Wang Chia-hsiang, Head of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China, and Wang said that Mao was going to meet with me on that date. They said that the time has not yet been set, but it will be sometime this evening. Perhaps I should have an early dinner, so that I will be free to go whenever the telephone call comes through setting the time. Then they said that Comrade Wang will come to pick me up and take me to Comrade Mao. They were all excited because they did not know until the last minute either.

So I started to get ready. I was very worried. I did not know what Mao would ask or demand from me or what he would say. I did not know if I could answer his questions. At about 7:00 p.m., Wang called and said that I should be ready. He said that he would probably pick me up within an hour.

I put on the suit that the Chinese had made for me. Yu Chi-ying came dressed in complete Chinese dress. Tang, who usually wears shorts, was dressed in a Mao-like jacket.

It was about 8:30 or 8:45 p.m. when Wang arrived for me in a special car. It had been raining hard for hours and it was still raining hard. Wang suggested that I should follow his car and Tang and Yu Chi-ying would ride with me.

We followed Wang's car and on the way a building was pointed out to me. It had a reddish fence around it. It was the same building where I had met with Kang Sheng, Li Hsien-nin, and others. This is in the center of the city and is in a compound containing the offices of the Government. We entered this Government compound, but through another gate than the gates I had gone through before. There were at least a half dozen or more armed sentries at the gate. We drove along a lake for about five or seven minutes. We came to some kind of a Ming-like palace. There were a few guards there, and they stepped aside. Then, some houseboys came out of the palace with big umbrellas to open the car doors.

This palace, like other palaces in China, was surrounded by verandas. Mao and one or two people in civilian dress were on one of these verandas. The young persons who were with Mao were probably security people, who act as houseboys also.

Wang introduced me to Mao Tse-tung. Mao greeted me. We retired to a large room, which had Chinese rugs, elaborate draperies, soft chairs, tea tables, etc. We sat down, and Mao and I were facing each other. We were about six or seven feet apart. Wang sat a few feet away to Mao's left. I was seated between Yu Chi-ying and Tang Ming-chao. Yu Chi-ying did most of the translating. Mao speaks a particular dialect, but Tang helped in the translating. Tang also took notes during the meeting. I did not take any notes because this was not a very formal meeting. The next day, I asked Tang if I could see the notes he had taken. These notes were in Chinese. He translated them for me. I made some very brief notes from his translation.

Mao has a rosy complexion and is well groomed. He always wears a grayish blue jacket, buttoned at the collar. It is very military-like. He is a chain smoker and is very soft-spoken.

Mao started the discussion in a very casual manner. He asked about my trip and we exchanged some pleasantries. He did not rush me. He asked about the health of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis. I told him that Dennis was all right. Then he made the remark that Foster is getting rather old. He asked me Foster's age. I replied that Foster was 77 years old last February. Mao asked me whether Foster is able to walk around. In answer to his question, I said that Foster is not able to walk around. Then Mao concluded that the actual leadership of the Communist Party - USA, from day to day, is in the hands of Dennis. So I said this may be a fact, although Foster's brain is still clear.

Mao made some philosophical remarks about people getting old. He said that even though he is 65 years old, he feels that the daily tasks are too much for anyone over this age.

Mao then asked me how long I was going to stay in China and when I intended to leave. He thanked me for the letter he had received on the anniversary of the Communist Party of China. He said that perhaps I could come back in October, 1955, when they celebrate their 10th Anniversary of liberation, and that maybe I could bring others with me. He also made the remark that he had read the documents that I had prepared and some of the minutes of the remarks I had made at various meetings.

Mao then said that there is more freedom for the Communist Party in Great Britain than there is for the Communist Party - USA. He said that this is a sign that the United States Government is afraid of you. He asked whether the British Communist Party was ever illegal. I said that as far as I know, it had never been illegal, and Wang agreed with me. Mao said, Your Party was born illegally. I agreed and said we were born in an illegal period. He asked me about the present legal status of the Communist Party - USA. I told him that according to the law, we are not supposed to be illegal, but de facto we are illegal because the State laws vary. Also, some of the trade unions exclude Communists from certain jobs. This makes de facto illegality more emphatic, particularly in industry.

Mao asked whether the class struggle in the United States is sharpening. Are there many strikes? I said that there are not many strikes and that the automobile union has postponed its strike.

Then Mao asked if the Communist Party - USA and the working class have fighting spirit. I replied in the affirmative. I said that in 1929, there was less organization in the trade unions than we have today. Sometimes this organization develops by leaps and bounds. Mao said, Yes, that is true.

Mao said that he has read about violent strikes in the United States. He said that he knows that the American working class has gained more reforms since 1930 than some of the Social Democratic Parties in Europe have in a generation.

Mao said there is a future for the American Party. He said that the economy in the United States is in bad shape. Some of the key industries are working only at a low level of production. He said there is obvious discontent with the unemployment situation in the United States. He said this proves that the workers have a need for a strong Communist Party in the United States.

Mao said that the Czars used to oppress the Russian workers and the Communists. In fact, they were cruel to the Bolsheviks. The Chinese Communist Party was oppressed and the feudal lords and the Kuomintang were cruel to the Communists. But we grew. The Russian Party, as you know, not only grew, but took power, and we did too. We grew and we took power despite the oppression. There will be a strong Communist Party in the United States.

Mao asked whether the United States has some weaknesses or if I believe that seventeen million oppressed Negroes, particularly those living in the South, is not a sign of one of the weaknesses of United States imperialism. Then Mao asked me about Paul Robeson. He said, Robeson is a good comrade and we would welcome him. I told Mao that Robeson had won his fight for a passport. Mao asked me to give his regards to Robeson. He asked whether it is true that Robeson sings Chinese songs in his concerts. I told Mao that he did.

Then Mao went into some broader problems. He asked, Do you think Dulles wants to start a war soon? What about the differences among the bourgeoisie in the United States in regard to keeping up the international tensions? I told him there may be differences on keeping the tensions going. I said that there may be some differences in the bourgeoisie, but not in regard to foreign policy. He said, Of course, there may be agreement among them, but there are some sections of the Capitalist countries which do not agree with the policies of Dulles which would lead to war. He asked, Would you say it is true that the United States would fight a big war? I said that I did not know. He said, Well, some say the United States would fight a big war, but would they even fight a little war? Why didn't the United States continue the war in Korea? Mao said, Isn't it a fact that there was a lot of sentiment that the war in Korea should be called off, and wasn't Eisenhower elected on the basis of ending the war in Korea? Mao continued, Didn't the Korean War teach American imperialism that military victories are not so easily achieved nowadays? Mao made a few remarks that the Chinese fought pretty well in Korea and they are not afraid of the best that American imperialism can throw at them.

Mao talked about the excuses of MacArthur, who had stated that if he was permitted to invade the so-called sanctuary, he would have won a victory in Korea. Then Mao said, This is just so much talk. Mao said that the battles which were fought in Korea were the kind of battles we wanted to fight. We led the Americans on.

At this point, Wang commented that the United States did not know that the Soviet Air Force and many Soviet divisions would have backed them up if MacArthur would have taken another step. The United States military power might have been wiped out if MacArthur took this action.

Mao then asked, Why didn't the United States go into Viet Nam during the battle of Dien Bien Phu? Mao said that they had heard that Nixon had even announced plans to defend Dien Bien Phu, which were later denied. Actually, the United States wanted to defend Dien Bien Phu, but there was violent opposition to this.

Then Mao asked, Why didn't the United States attack Syria? What did United States imperialism discover during the Suez invasion by the British and the French? Then Mao said that after two Sputniks, United States imperialism seems to be lagging behind the Soviet Union and is not so sure that it can fight a big war. On the other hand, imperialism had chances to fight small wars, but lost those opportunities also. Mao said the United States was mobilized and threatened to invade Lebanon, but changed their minds. Obviously, the United States was not sure of what it could accomplish by such an invasion, if it should lead to war. Mao then talked about the small wars again and mentioned Korea, Indochina, Indonesia, and so on. He repeated that the United States had lost its opportunities. Mao again mentioned the war in Korea and said that the United States was stopped there.

Mao said that United States imperialism saw French imperialism losing, but gave it no real aid. The United States made lots of noise in regard to Syria, but the Soviet Union and China said something and the saber rattling of the United States imperialists stopped. United States imperialism made lots of noise in Lebanon, but was stopped there, too. Mao said that the imperialist countries are not sure of themselves. Maybe the Socialist countries are stronger. Imperialism no longer has the support of the people in the Latin American countries, where its puppet leaders were defeated.

At this point, I talked about the peace movement in the United States. I said that the trade union movement is not involved in this. I said that the imperialists face many difficulties. I also stated that even though we are a small Party, the imperialists are probably worried about us. I mentioned the Dennis letter concerning the program of Tito.

Mao asked me about the current membership in the Communist Party - USA. I said that it is very small and that we might register nine thousand. He replied that maybe a small Party is a good thing. Your development is in the future. The future will be very good for you, if you stand firm and raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. He said that revisionism must be fought to the bitter end. The revisionists want to harm and destroy the Communist Party - USA. They raise the white flag. Mao said that the Communist Party - USA should take down the white flag and put on the red.

Then Mao asked me how many members the Communist Party - USA had during its best years. I took a guess and said that it was approximately sixty thousand. I said that during that time, the Party developed rapidly. He replied that during this time of expansion, perhaps unreliable elements got into the Party. He said, Maybe Gates was one of them and also other intellectual unreliable elements got in at that time. He said that those who come into a Communist Party during an upswing are not reliable.

Next, Mao stated that a Communist Party which does not undergo storm and stress does not have much fighting strength. It is like flowers that grow in a hothouse. They cannot face stormy weather. I told him that our Party has gone through stormy weather. He replied, Yes, and therefore we have great hopes for the Communist Party - USA. We have great confidence in your Party and take your Party seriously. You had a good National Committee meeting in February and you elected a good National Executive Committee. You got rid of the revisionists. Then Mao asked me if the revisionists had a majority at one time. I replied that they did; however, I said that we have gotten rid of the revisionists and at the February National Committee meeting we elected a new National Executive Committee. While only nine National Executive Committee members were selected at that time, more will be elected. This new leadership will follow our February resolutions.

Mao then commented that the revisionists once made a lot of noise in New York. He asked if they still have New York under their control. I replied that up until the 10th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA, the Right was in control of the New York District. Subsequently, it was defeated and Ben Davis is currently the Chairman of the New York District. Then Mao asked me, "Is it all right to have a Negro as head of the Communist Party in New York?" I replied that I thought it was all right, considering the make-up of the population in New York; yet, Mao still thought that it was not correct for a Negro to head such a large section of the Communist Party - USA, because it might keep the masses away from the Communist Party - USA.

Next Mao stated that he understands that the farm population in the United States is small. He asked, Is it true that it is getting smaller? I replied that this is true. It is getting smaller. He said that this was a big problem and will be a bigger problem when the Communist Party - USA takes over, because you will have to send representatives into the farm areas. He then asked me if the Communist Party - USA has any organization among the farmers. I indicated that we had very little membership among the farmers, but in the 1930's there were big farm strikes against the trusts. I said that the farmers were discontented at that time. Mao said, When you take power, you cannot ignore the farmers, even though they may be small in numbers.

It is to be noted that the Communist Party of China recently sent in tens of thousands of cadre to live among the farmers.

Mao said that if you are going to develop an anti-monopoly coalition, you will need the farmers as allies. He also stated that even after the revolution, you will need the farmers as allies.

Then Mao asked me if the Communist Party - USA is discouraged. I said, We have difficulties, but we are not discouraged. He said he was glad to hear that the Communist Party - USA is not discouraged, despite the constant enemy attacks and the terror which exists. He said that he knows that the Communist Party membership is being persecuted in the United States and that it is not easy to be a Communist Party member in the United States. But it is good to know that they did not beat you down and that you are fighting, and also that there were very few open betrayals during the trials -- that is good.

Mao asked me if I would go to the other Socialist countries. I replied that I would not and that my task was to simply go to the Soviet Union and to China. He said that he thought that it was just as well that I only came to these two countries, considering the circumstances under which I was making this trip.

Mao said that the conversations I had with the other comrades are very encouraging about the survival of the Communist Party - USA, and its rebuilding. He said that the Communist Party of China is willing to help the Communist Party - USA raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism. I told Mao that originally the revisionists rejected the Statement of the twelve Communist Parties, but that we reversed

this. The Communist Party - USA has already accepted the Twelve-Party Statement. This means that you have raised the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The bourgeoisie will always condemn you and call you names. They will accuse you of following Moscow. We have been accused of this all our lives. The revisionists are afraid of this accusation. They want to surrender to the bourgeoisie so they will not be accused of being agents of Moscow. The revisionists are the agents of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. The working class must carry on class struggles to wipe out the bourgeoisie and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are all the same as far as this is concerned. That is, we will use the class struggle to do away with classes. This is our common foundation. This is the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism. To follow Moscow means to stick to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Let them call you all kinds of names. We do not care. Only Tito is not following Moscow. For this reason, he has become an agent of imperialism. You must be mentally prepared to be called more names.

Then Mao made the remark that the Communist Party - USA is still small. I agreed and said that we need to get out of our isolation. He replied that in order to get out of this isolation you must do hard difficult work among the masses. You must do particularly hard and difficult work among the workers and the farmers. When you have done well in mass work, you will get out of your isolation.

Then Mao asked me, Is it true that the present-day revisionists follow Browder's ideas? I said that they are the same. Then Mao said that the last time the French comrades wrote you a letter, they helped you to fight Browder's revisionism. But this time you are fighting revisionism by yourself and you are solving the problems of revisionism by yourself. He commented that help from comrades in another country may not necessarily be good sometimes. He stated that even though the foreign comrades have the best intentions and even though their opinions may be correct, the result is not necessarily good. While it is true that the French comrades helped you to fight the revisionism of Browder, now you have neo-Browderism. It is a good thing that you, yourselves, took the initiative to fight this revisionism, and this initiative deserves congratulations from us.

During these remarks, Mao stated that he had discussed the latter remarks with Jacques Duclos in Moscow during the 40th Anniversary of the USSR, and had convinced Duclos that he should not try to force his opinions on the Communist Party - USA and that it is better for the Communist Party - USA to work out its own problems.

Incidentally, Nicolai Mathousky has expressed a similar feeling. He stated that the Communist Party, USA, should not worry about Duclos, since Duclos now understands what has happened in the American Communist Party. Mao made a point of the fact that the Communist Party, USA, turned back revisionism. Also, that the Communist Party, USA, should not get the idea that there is a new International to tell you what to do or that the Chinese Party will tell you what to do. In general, I agreed with his remarks.

I made the statement that I cannot deny that recent international events and the Twelve-Party Statement not only helped the Communist Party, USA, but also were a turning point for us. Mao replied that the Twelve-Party Statement was important. In addition, there are the two Sputniks which the Soviet Union launched. Mao then asked, isn't it true that the imperialists said that the Soviet Union cannot do much and that the imperialists have been ridiculing the Soviet Union since the 20th Congress? I replied that the Sputniks and the crisis in the United States may have helped, but what helped to clarify the membership was the Twelve-Party Declaration. Mao went on to explain that the Twelve-Party Declaration is the declaration of the twelve socialist countries. He said that whether and how the Twelve-Party Declaration is accepted is up to each Party to decide. He repeated what Tim Buck had said that the Russians even tried to hold back the other parties from voting for it until they had discussed it at home. He warned against mechanical endorsements.

Then Mao said, our conversation is only for your reference. My conversations and those of the other comrades are only for your reference. This also applies to the Liu Shao-chi articles which you have been reading. (This is a reference to material on the illegal work of the Communist Party of China which had been given to me for study.)

Mao said, you must use your own brains to figure out your own problems. The basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are universal, but the concrete conditions in each country are different. A real Marxist-Leninist must excel in independent thinking.

I then commented that the revisionists deny the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. They do not want Marxism-Leninism.

Mao asked about Alexander Bittelman putting forward his theory of the welfare state. He asked, now there is not much welfare in the United States, is there, considering the unemployment? I replied that we rejected Bittelman's theory. Mao asked me how Bittelman is. He said he heard Bittelman is not now

participating in Party activity. They got a report that he did not attend the February National Committee meeting and that he has a subjective attitude toward William Z. Foster. I said the Soviet comrades were surprised that Bittelman is a Rightist. They always thought that he was a sectarian.

Mao came back to the question of imperialism. He said that our views on imperialism are the same from a strategic outlook. We must look down on imperialism, but we do not want to over-estimate them. Yet, tactically speaking, in the concrete struggle against imperialism, we must pay a lot of attention to the imperialists. The revisionists over-estimate imperialism and think that it is very powerful. As a matter of fact, imperialism has many contradictions. All the Communist Parties will, by their own efforts, find out the roads or methods of ridding themselves of imperialism. Mao said, We all agree on this point and work together.

Mao went on to say, We have the same view on the question of imperialism. Our enemy looks strong, powerful and tough on the surface, but actually it is not that powerful. The Communist Party, which represents the oppressed class and peoples, will eventually find the way to overthrow imperialism. We are all working under the war threat of United States imperialism. The difference is that the American Communist Party has yet to gain political power. We gained our political power not so long ago and we still have to work very hard to industrialize the country.

Mao also stated that right now he thinks that American imperialism has been stymied. He said there may be many Koreas. China intends to fight if the United States starts something. China will fight if it has to, and it has the Formosan Army in its pocket. Mao said, "We stopped the Americans militarily in Korea."

Mao also said that he does not care whether or not China gets into the United Nations. He said that the United Nations will come begging for China to join. Further, if Great Britain does not give China full diplomatic recognition, China will break diplomatic relations with Britain.

Mao said that Japan is in dire competition for markets. Japan is caught in a vise. If Japan does not knuckle under to China and Russia, it will lose what it has.

Then Mao stated that in the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, we adopted a resolution on the Moscow Conference. In this resolution, we have named only one fraternal Party, and that is your Party. He developed this

point. He said that they wanted to encourage us. He said he thought that the Communist Party - USA was correct in its attitude. Then he said, You are in the forefront of the struggle. You will get our support.

I made the remark that I do not know if we are in the forefront, but we are happy even though we are heavily encircled by imperialism.

Mao replied, We will work together. He then asked, How is the comrade who attended our 5th Congress? Realizing that he was referring to Irving Potash, I said that he is in jail, but that he will be out in August.

Mao asked me if there were any others in jail in addition to Potash. I told him that Gil Green and Henry Winston were in jail.

As the discussion terminated, Mao asked me to give his personal regards to William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, and all the members of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA.

Mao also asked to be remembered to Potash, Gil Green, and Henry Winston.

When I left the palace, Mao walked with me out on the veranda. He made some remarks that maybe I had brought luck to Peking because of the rain. I told him that I had visited some of the factories, the reservoir, etc. Photographers took pictures of Mao and myself. Wang told me not to worry. Wang stated that these pictures were just for historical records, which they will maintain in their archives.

Evidently, Mao considered this meeting important, because a couple of days before the meeting Mao was out of town. I learned that the leaders of the Communist Party of China leave Peking often.

MEETING WITH LI HSIEN-NIEN, VICE PREMIER,
FINANCE MINISTER, AND A MEMBER OF THE
POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

On June 30, 1958, I had a meeting with Li Hsien-nien, who is one of the Vice Premiers, Finance Minister, and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Li is a very important man in the Governmental apparatus. Li was a very famous General during the war. He commanded the Fifth Division of the 8th Route Army. Li is about 5'10" tall; weighs about 175 lbs., which is considered, by Chinese standards, to be heavy; has a light complexion, and an oval face.

Also present at this meeting were Tang Ming-chao, member of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, who acted as an interpreter; and Li Chi-hsin, also a member of the International Liaison Department, who took minutes of the meeting.

I was taken to a fenced-in Government headquarters building. This was not a building of the Communist Party headquarters. We met in a very large room, and all sat around a table.

When the meeting started, Li asked me to list the things I was interested in knowing about. I advised him that I was interested in the economic situation in China. Also, that I was interested in knowing about this new policy of the "big leap", which had been discussed at the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China. Li agreed and proceeded to give me the following report:

Concerning the question of the second five-year plan, Li stated that China is now in its first year of this second five-year plan. Li stated it is now clear that the plans we mapped out at the first session of the 8th Congress were too low. Why was this 1950 economic plan too low? And why is the present plan higher? Li said that our country (meaning Red China) was established a little over eight years ago. Li stated that during the first five-year plan, there was no change in ownership of industry or other enterprises. They only expropriated what they call the Chiang Kai-shek properties. It was only at the time of the 8th Congress, which took place in 1950, that they began to drastically change the property relationships. It was only at that time that they began the reforms among the peasantry from private cultivation of the land, private ownership, to co-operatives.

Li said that the objective conditions in China, both in industry and agriculture, make it possible to carry through this leap forward. He went on to say that in 1950, we succeeded in completing the economic reforms. He explained this by saying that they turned private industry into semi-State industry, and the farms into co-operatives.

Li stated that 1950 was the year of completion of the liberation of the economic forces. This struggle for the liberation of the economic forces changed, as they say, the economic foundation of the country, especially after the economic successes in 1950.

Li then went on to talk about Mao and the Central Committee, and what they had decided. They decided to start the rectification campaign. They decided to put forth Mao's slogan, "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Thousand Ideas Contend." This meant that they decided that Socialist laws of property were possible.

Li then went into an explanation of how the Rightists, as they call them, attacked Socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party, and everything that is associated with Communism. He stated that the Party and the Government then launched a counter-attack. In 1950, they gained an economic victory. In 1957, by defeating the Rightists, they gained a political victory. Then they could see that both material and political conditions for changed economic plans were laid.

Li then stated that the struggle against the Rightists and the rectification campaign was also a struggle against, what they call, the three evils: (1) Subjectivism; (2) Bureaucracy; and (3) Sectarianism.

Li went on to say that during the rectification campaign, they mobilized the people. We exposed our shortcomings. We mobilized the people and showed them that the Communist Party is their Party; that we are working in their interests. As a result of these self-admitted errors, the people's energy increased and they could mobilize them for more labor. As a further result, it was possible to raise the productive power of the workers.

Li went on to explain that up until liberation, China was under the heel of imperialism for a long time. According to Li, China was exploited and poverty stricken. Li quoted Mao and said that China was turned into a temporary blank or a vacuum. (This is used in an economic sense).

Li stated that at the time of liberation, the total steel production in China was 900,000 tons, and most of this was produced in Manchuria. At the end of the first five-year plan, China produced 5½ million tons of steel. During the first five-year plan, Li stated that they laid the basis for heavy industry and light machine industry. Also, the basis was laid for machine production.

Li stated that the situation in agriculture was poor at the time of liberation. China produced 270 billion caddies of grain. In 1957, they produced 370 billion caddies of grain, but this was still not enough. Li stated that 370 billion caddies is equivalent to 135 million tons. Li stated that grain production had to be increased so that the peasants could be supplied with grain throughout the year.

Li went on to say that they have laid three basis: (1) The change of the ownership system; (2) Due to the struggle against the Rightists, eliminated political thought of the people who, for centuries, were under the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie. Communist ideology was established among the people because there was a "liberation of Communist thought"; and (3) Material basis was laid during the first five-year plan. Originally, their plans provided for twelve million tons of steel to be produced by 1962. Later, their plans were changed to thirty million tons by 1962. Li stated that developments are hard to predict. He said we would be talking in conservative figures if we talked about an increase of nine or ten million tons by the end of this year.

Concerning the production of coal, Li stated that in 1957 they produced 110 million tons. In 1958, we are producing 220 million tons. After I asked a question, Li explained that they have almost reached the figure of 220 million tons already.

In 1957, Li stated that the grain production was 370 billion caddies. This year, the harvest has already increased by 35 billion caddies. He stated that there has been an increase of 17½ million tons of grain so far this year, and they were just beginning to harvest at that time. (Rice is included in this category). It is estimated that this year's crops will show an increase of 50 million tons in all grains. He said that this increase is not due to good weather. In fact, it is just the opposite. He said that there is a drought in the Southern part of China. But despite this, there have been increases in grain production.

Li said, We lack machinery and chemical fertilizers. We depend on five hundred million peasants. Li said, Mao has taught us that we can increase the production of steel, coal,

grain, etc., despite the lack of fertilizers, machinery, etc. To effect such increases in agriculture: (1) We will have to carry on more irrigation; (2) We will have to obtain human or animal fertilizers; (3) We will have to improve the soil cultivation by plowing deeper than we have up to now; (4) There has to be an improvement in technique, even in hand tools; and (5) There has to be better management of the fields, and we have to get rid of weeds, waste grasses, etc.

(I want to point out that during my stay in China, I could not find a single weed. There is not one foot of soil in the cities or in the country which is wasted. Even in the place where I lived, wherever there was a few feet of ground, they would plant some kind of a vegetable. Every foot of ground was cultivated in the cities and in the country).

Li went on to say that last year the average production of grain was 600 caddies, or 600 lbs., per person. He stated that this was not enough. Using quotations of Mao at the second session of the 6th Congress, Li stated, Through a great effort, if we fight bitterly, we may be able to produce 1,500 caddies of grain per person. Then he said that this goal has not yet been announced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, but that this is their aim.

Li stated, This is our condition in agriculture. The main concern is irrigation. He said most of the water goes into the ocean. Their main task is to preserve the water. They need to build a large number of reservoirs in order to store the water coming off the hills.

Li went on to say that during the second five-year plan, they must increase chemical fertilizers greatly. At the time of the first session of the 6th Congress, the plan was to produce 400 billion caddies of grain. Now, the figure has changed to 600 billion caddies or even 1,000 billion caddies. This is an indication of the big leap forward in the agricultural field. If we can step up production, then the 1,500 caddie goal per person is possible.

Li then repeated that the announcement concerning the production of 1,500 caddies of grain per person has not yet been made. He stated that it is better to be humble and talk of low achievements, and then when you have reached your goal, it should be announced.

Parenthetically speaking, this is the way the Chinese work. They minimize figures, reach their goals, and then make the announcements.

Concerning steel production, Li stated that originally they talked of 7,000,000 tons of steel this year. But now they already have produced nine or ten million tons. Li stated that at this moment, they cannot decide how large the increase in steel will be. In any case, Li is sure they will produce thirty million tons of steel by 1961. But this figure may be changed by the people in the provinces to forty million, fifty million, or maybe even seventy million tons of steel by 1961. I asked how they will obtain such a high production. I learned that they open up small mills in the provinces. They may produce only about 2,000, 3,000, or 4,000 tons of steel per year. This would probably be enough to accommodate local needs. The production of these small mills adds greatly to the overall production.

Li said that China is passing Great Britain in the machine, tool, and electrical industries. Li quoted Mao by saying, We will surpass Great Britain in everything in fifteen years. Li emphasized, as did others, that it will not take fifteen years to surpass Great Britain. He said that in 1959, steel production may be twenty million or twenty-five million tons. That is more than Great Britain produces now.

Li cited the production figure for coal as 300 million tons per year. Li said that China pays greatest attention to steel, coal, manufacturing, electrical power and railroad construction. He stated that in this kind of development, there are shortages of raw material, power, machines and transportation. He said that this is quite a contrast to the Capitalist world, where they have problems of over-supply.

Li then went on to talk about the economic crisis in the United States. He said that the over-supply in the United States is an indication of problems and decay in the Capitalist system. He stated that some comrades from industries and provinces came to Peking, asking for material. In a sense, this made the leadership happy because it indicated an increase in production. It was a good sign. Comrades who are economists are working hard at the solution to these problems. It is a pleasant feeling when people show that they have increased their goals.

Why the big leap forward? Li said that besides what we publicly stated in our resolution, we think the main factor is the leadership of the Party and the full mobilization of the people. When the people understand, their energy is boundless, and it results in a big voluntary effort. Then Li said that the general line of the Party can be expressed in the following slogan: "Engage in the Greatest Endeavor; Always Fight for the Best to Construct Socialism, Under the

Principle of 'More -- Quicker, Better and Economically'."
This slogan is seen everywhere.

Parenthetically speaking, I might add that parades are seen in the streets, night and day, with Party slogans. Street meetings are carried on and vaudeville acts are presented. The Communist Party constantly agitates and pushes the people.

Li stated that industry and agriculture should be developed simultaneously. He said that industry is under central and local control at the same time. He said many industries will be turned over to the local organization, and that the central government intends to keep the backbone of large industries.

Parenthetically speaking, I might point out that the Chinese are going to imitate the decentralization plan of the Soviet Union, although the Chinese claim they have their own plan.

Li stated that large and small industries should be developed at the same time, and this will result in the speeding of production. He said, We have mills producing four million tons; yet, we have other mills which produce only one thousand tons, and we have mills which produce only three hundred tons. While the large mills are the most important, we must build large, medium and small mills at the same time. The small mills can supply the local needs and there is a quick return of the investment.

In regard to technology, Li said, We have both up-to-date technology and backward technology, but we are organizing these to march hand in hand.

Li said that they have the most up-to-date mills in Hankow. He said they were established with the help of the USSR. They also have small and backward mills and they, too, are marching forward hand in hand with the big mills.

Li stated that there are advantages in large plants, but the investments are high and it takes years to build them. He said small plants can be built in six months, with little investment.

Li then advised me to keep certain things in mind. He said there are some special conditions in China. We are developing industry at a late date. Previously, the imperialists said that we had no raw material, no iron, etc. But since liberation, we discovered iron all over the country. Some deposits were found to be very small, and so we built smaller plants to make use of the small iron deposits.

Li then went into the livelihood of the workers and how it has improved. He said China was the most poverty stricken country at one time, and the standard of living is still low. But since 1952, wages have increased by 34%. The peasants have improved their standard of living. It was most miserable at one time. The workers and peasants are now satisfied, but their standards are very low by comparison with United States standards.

Li stated that this improvement in the standard of living cannot be judged by wages alone. Prices have been stabilized. He said there has even been a decrease in price of some manufactured goods. This year, there has been a 2% decrease in prices in this category.

On the question of the improvement of the livelihood, Li quoted Mao, who said: "Work bitterly for the next three years." Li said, We should work for the next three years to accumulate and put back into industry and agriculture. (They developed this thesis further. Work bitterly for the next three years so they will live a glorious life and in luxury for the next one thousand years). This policy has been explained to the people, and it is understood by the people that it will lead to a better life.

Li said, Although there have been no wage increases in China this year, more people have been employed; therefore, the family economic situation has improved. China has many people, but we still need more labor.

Li then went into a discussion of how they are going to free women from family drudgery and are discussing how to put women into production in the cities and in the country. This is a very complicated problem, but they will organize it and this, too, will improve the standards of all the people. I noticed they were carrying on a big campaign to set up services so that women can have certain things done for them in order that they may be employed in industry. Included among these services were ready-made foods, communal kitchens, laundries, and many other types of institutions which free women from labor so they can work in industry. Li emphasized that they have a shortage of labor in China. Thus, they are creating these institutions which will throw women into industry. He contrasted this with the current economic situation in the United States, with its unemployment.

Li said that there are 24 million industrial workers in China. This includes those who work in Government offices. By the end of the second five-year plan, they will have twenty million additional industrial workers. By the end of the second five-year plan, as the young grow up, there should be an increase of 30 million of working labor forces. He stated that sixteen

million of the 36 million will work on the farms, and twenty million will enter industry. Li stated that these are not sufficient, especially for agriculture. He said the old are not included in these figures.

Li went on to say that there was a time when some of us thought the population was too large and we were talking of population control. But now we feel we need seven hundred million more people than we have now.

Parenthetically speaking, the Chinese did change their policy concerning this, but at the same time they are beginning to practice this policy of controlling the population. They will practice birth control to some extent. The population of China increases each year equivalent to the population of Czechoslovakia.

Because there is a shortage of labor, Li stated there is a need to mechanize. He said the population is concentrated in 40% of the area of China. In the other 60% of the total area, there are fewer people, and these people consist of racial minorities. The Chinese claim that there are about 30 million people who belong to these racial minorities, such as Moslems, Tibetans, etc. Their economic situation is worse than that of the Chinese.

Some provinces have a surplus of the population, but when the co-operatives develop, this surplus will solve the shortage of labor. There is a need to send a lot of people to the sparsely populated areas in order to develop these areas, which contain a lot of natural resources. The total area is 960 million square metres, 60% of which has a total population of 36 million, which is only 6% of the population, and the other 94% of the population live in crowded provinces. We need to send a lot of people to populate the sparse area, where the minorities are now living.

According to the present situation, if we organize, we can solve the shortage of the working force in the country during the second five-year plan. Li emphasized that the unemployment problem, which existed immediately after liberation, has been solved.

Li stated that several million people make up the national bourgeoisie, such as merchants, landlords, etc. He said, Our policy toward these people is different than that of the Soviet Union. The USSR had no such problem, because they did not have as many in Russia. Li went on to explain that the policy toward these people is to restrict them, reform them, and to turn them into the laboring force. The small merchants and peddlers are willing to become laborers.

There were quite a number of capitalists who became Rightists, but the majority agreed with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party. But as long as there are Capitalists, we must be vigilant. Li said the Capitalists have turned over shops and businesses, but these constitute small capital. The total capital of all of these amounted to 2,200,000,000 yuan, or 400 million United States dollars. This includes the Capitalists, the small merchants and the peddlers.

Parenthetically speaking, the Chinese have a law where they take over what they call Capitalist industry, shops or enterprises, and they pay interest for the so-called capital. This will be paid for about seven years. They tax these Capitalists, as they call them. They talk about taxing them to death. Some of these so-called Capitalists would like to be rid of their property. The Chinese will not let them get out of their class position. They figure that after seven years of taxation, the property will be in the hands of the State.

When Li dealt with the small amount of Capitalists; they found on hand, he said this explains why the Chinese bourgeoisie was opposed to imperialism and is still opposed to imperialism.

Parenthetically speaking, Li means that all the big industries were owned by foreign capital. So, it was easy to win the national bourgeoisie because they, too, felt that they were being kept from making big profits.

Li stated, But when the Party proposes Socialism, these people still resist the Communists. He said this problem is now being solved under the pressure of the people. Very few will resist.

Li went on to say that the landlord class is different, because the lands were expropriated and the peasants were liberated. The confiscation of the lands was the first task in the liberation of the peasants. The co-operatives were the second task in the liberation of the peasantry. He said that 90% of the peasantry have joined the co-operatives. He said the nature of our co-operative farms is similar to the collectives in the Soviet Union.

Parenthetically speaking, Li means that when a farmer joins a co-operative, he does not get paid on the basis of sharing a certain portion of the land but on the basis of the amount of work that he contributes to the co-operative.

Li went on to explain the difference between China and the USSR in regard to farming. He said Russian farms are mechanized. We are just improving the hand tools for our farmers.

I asked Li how they run industry and agriculture. In regard to the system in the factories, Li said the Party Committee is the highest authority. The responsibility for the direction of the plant is under the leadership of the Party Committee.

(I found this to be true when I visited their factories. It was the Party person who explained the operations of the factory, and not the Director).

Li stated that the Director is responsible to the Party Committee. The supervision of the masses is under the leadership of the Party. Party authority is supreme. The Party Committees discuss how much they can produce and the norms of production are also discussed by the Party Committee.

I asked on what basis they formulate these plans. Li said that the over-all plan is given by the Central Committee, and then the Party Committees in the various plants discuss the general plan and how they can formulate their own plan. He said that there are no plans for each factory. The plans go to the provinces, then down to the city, and then down to the factories.

Li stated that there are two kinds of accounts. The central authority has the first set of books. Then the Party Committee in the factory discusses and works out its own plan. When the central authority's plan comes back with suggestions from the factory, it is usually on an increased basis.

Li stated that in Yugoslavia, they have no plan because they work without the Party. It is impossible to plan. They work on the basis of Workers' Councils in each factory. He made a point that this is the reason why they lag behind and why they cannot increase their production in Yugoslavia.

Returning to China, Li said that they have two kinds of planning for industry. For example, in the railroads, all plans are handed down by the central authority. Everything in regard to railroads is centrally controlled. Furthermore, some large plants are directly controlled by Central Government Ministries and not by local authorities. Li said that some industry is directly under the control of local authorities. Many of these are small plants.

In regard to the relation between the Party, trade unions, and management, Li said there must be unity of interests on principled questions involved in carrying out a plan. There must be agreement on the general line. The trade union handles all the specific problems along the cultural line by themselves. But there is unity of interest of the State and the individuals. These must not be contradictory. They are based on the interests of the collective.

Li pointed out that the Director of a factory is generally appointed. There is no election. The Chairman of a trade union is elected, but the Party nominates the Chairman. The membership of the trade union can reject the nomination, but in practice this does not happen. The Party picks only those to run for these offices who are closest to the workers, who are most popular and who are sure of election. Li stated that in all of this work, we follow Chairman Mao's organizational line, "Of the Masses, From the Masses, to the Masses."

The draft plans in industry go through stages of reaching the people and the results are reported back to the central authorities and only then are they finalized. In this way, they get the reactions of the people. Thus, if there is too much resistance to the quotas, they will retreat before the plans are finalized.

The election of the trade union people is carried through in the same way. The Party nominates, the workers discuss, discussion or an analysis of the discussion comes back to the Party. Then the Party sends back a nominee and he is elected.

I asked Li where the finances come from. He said that if there is a factory within the plan of basic construction, then all the finances come from the State. He said 10% of the profit is left to the factory, and 90% goes to the State. Of the 10% that is left to the factory, 50% of the 10% is used for benefits and the welfare of the workers. In addition, the Government would add 12% of the total wages to go for the same purpose. The remaining 40% of the 10% goes back for production improvements in the factories.

In some cases, they give total free rent or free kindergartens to the workers, and they take it out of this 40% of the 10% that is left in the factory.

Li then went into a discussion of the farm co-operatives. He said 50% of the production goes to the members for their use. 20% goes for production purposes, seeds and fertilizers, etc. 25% goes for accumulation, the State and the co-operative. He said the State takes very little of this 25%. This is in the

form of taxes. Taxes average 10%. Li said these taxes will be cut down during the second five-year plan to 6%. The remainder will be left to the co-operatives for purpose of seeds, machinery, tools, etc. He said 1% is used for public benefits.

Li stated that the young are responsible for the old. Those who have no laboring power are taken care of. This is done willingly by the rest of the co-op members. It is something like Social Security. Li stated that this is what we call income distribution by the co-ops.

Li said that the individual co-operative members have other incomes. Many are handicraftsmen. These people are allowed to raise chickens, pigs, vegetables, etc., on their private pieces of land either for themselves or they can sell them. He stated that the Party must see to it that this private income is not too great. If it is, they will begin to neglect the co-operative and will make their own money. In 1950, we began to notice this tendency for private accumulation. The rectification campaign discussed this and corrected this situation. Rectification simply means to replace bourgeois ideology with proletarian ideology. Mao said that such a rectification campaign is needed every year. This must be a constant campaign.

Communist ideology now prevails. It prevails in the peasant co-ops. But this thinking first had to be organized by the Party.

Li went on to say that they have a few forests in China, but on the whole they have very few trees. People have re-forested entire mountains in China "voluntarily".

With regard to prices, I asked, how are they set and how are they controlled? Li said that there is no free market. He said that for the main products, prices are decided by the State, and these prices are uniform. The main products, such as food and clothing, are decided only by the central Government. No one else can decide these prices. Steel, coal and power prices are also fixed by central authorities. When the products are plentiful, the Government sets a low price for them. Li said that when we say "State", it can also be the provincial Government in some instances. The price structure is examined twice a year to see if it is in keeping with production. Only the main products interest the central authorities. The prices in the provinces differ for some items. Li said that they solved some of these problems by getting several provinces together and deciding on a fair or average price for some of these items.

Li said that it is impossible to set prices for items such as feathers and wild straw. The local villages set these prices. These things are not important. They will not influence the economy and price structure of the country. Products raised individually by a farmer can be sold, but for prices fixed by the State. These are generally not important products, because food, linen, minerals, etc., must be sold to the State and not to anyone else. Individuals in the co-operatives may exchange things, or co-operatives may exchange with each other, but all prices are set by the State. He said these are not important items, such as chairs, tables, etc.

Li stated that the main principle in setting prices is whether it will increase production. It must conform with the principles of Socialism. If it will harm Socialism, we will use laws to carry on a drive against the speculators.

Li further stated that the small shops and peddlers are actually agents for Government stores. Their prices are set by the State. There is also a limit to their profits. They cannot earn more than a skilled worker in a city or more than a farm laborer in the villages. In general, there are uniform fixed prices. Some are fixed by central authorities, and some are fixed by provincial authorities.

Li went on to explain that production decides whether prices will go up or down. Since liberation, the over-all tendency has been that farm prices went up a little, but manufacturing prices went down. He said that this scissors, or ratio, of agricultural prices to industrial prices has narrowed during the first five-year plan by 20%. So even if there is a tendency to raise farm prices, manufacturing prices are down.

He said the improvement of the livelihood of the peasants depends chiefly on increasing farm production. Before liberation they produced fifty kilograms per mou. Now, one hundred kilograms per mou is produced on an average. The highest figure is two hundred kilograms per mou.

Li went on to say that the surest way to improve the standard of living in China is not through prices, but increased production. As to the livelihood of the workers, the main task is to stabilize prices on food, clothing, oil, etc. For these reasons, the workers and the peasants are very much satisfied with the party and the Government, because they have stabilized prices and increased production. Before liberation, the average worker and peasant never tasted oil in his cooking. But remember, the standard of living is still below the standard of living in the United States, although now the Chinese put oil into their

cooking. Consumption of fats in China averages four and one-half kilograms per person each year. This is much more than the average under the Kuomintang regime.

Li then talked about the slogan: "Fight bitterly and we will achieve even higher standards."

I asked Li what he thought about the attitude of the United States toward China, or vice versa. He told me to take it up with the Central Committee; however, these are his personal views and are not official. He said that if the embargo is lifted against China, it has to be complete. Not like England, which has lifted the embargo partially. He said it is a two-sided question. Even the embargo has been helpful because we need to develop our own industry. But the slogan, "Lift the Embargo," is a good slogan politically. Li stated that the volume of trade with the United States under the Kuomintang regime was very small. China traded chiefly with England and Japan.

Li asked me how long I intended to stay in China. He urged me to stay in China a little longer and see some more things. He wanted to arrange for me to go to Manchuria and Shanghai and other industrial areas.

Li made a few remarks about the United States being the head of the imperialist camp and said that communists have to take an all-out attitude toward United States imperialism. He again said the Communist Party, USA, should not worry about the imperialists.

MEETING WITH KANG SHENG IN REGARD TO
THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

I met with Kang Sheng, member of the Political Bureau, member of the Secretariat, and the person in charge of ideological work for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He was in Moscow in 1930 in the Comintern. He is about 60 to 62 years of age, about 5'7" in height, and very thin. He is partly bald and has gray hair. He is a very important man and is one of the leaders of the Chinese communists. His task was to give me a review of their rectification campaign, which was reviewed at the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China.

He pointed out that since 1942, they have had a rectification campaign. During these sixteen years, they have had continuous victories and rectification campaigns. He asked, "Why do we need rectification campaigns?" Then Kang stated that societies move forward and there are contradictions between societies, classes or groups. There are continuous struggles between the old and new. There is a changing of quality and quantity and there is an endless struggle going on in society.

Kang said that, according to Mao Tse-tung, in any society there is a continuous revolution in one form or another. Kang stated that the theory of permanent revolution developed by Karl Marx was abandoned by Stalin in his fight against the Trotskyists. This theory of permanent revolution has now been revived by the Chinese. Marxism is a science. As all other sciences, it constantly develops. In any Party or person, there is always conflict and contradictions--objective versus subjective. During the successes and victories, there are strong points and weaknesses. There is success or failure. In order that our Party continues to progress, we have to have continuous rectification campaigns, now and in the future.

Kang went on to say, our Party looks upon the rectification campaign as one of motive forces developing our Party and pushing us forward. The rectification campaign's primary purpose is to correct and perfect the style of work of our Party. In this way, we will enable the Party to overcome its weaknesses and overcome subjectiveness in order to cope with objective reality.

From the experiences of our several campaigns, the Party tries to overcome mistakes in style of work. It does this through criticism and self-criticism. The enemy will make use of this criticism and self-criticism and attack us. This attack by the enemy is unavoidable. But this rectification campaign not only serves the purpose of correcting and improving the style of work, but helps us to launch a struggle against the class enemy.

Kang asked, "In general, what is the rectification campaign?" The rectification campaign within the Communist Party is a struggle between proletarian ideology and nonproletarian ideology. Outside the Communist Party, it is a struggle between revolution and counterrevolution.

During the last sixteen years, we had continuous rectification campaigns. The biggest one was launched in 1942 in Yunnan. There was one last year, which is still continuing. These are the two most important rectification campaigns.

The rectification campaign in Yunnan was important because it laid down the ideological basis for the victory of the democratic revolution. This campaign solved the problem of who conquers whom on the ideological front--capitalism or socialism.

Next, Kang stated that some foreign friends and comrades view our rectification campaign as a purge or suppression of counterrevolutionaries. This is not a full-rounded view. It is a one-sided view. The contents of the rectification campaign do carry a struggle against counterrevolution, but the struggle is much deeper. In the course of a rectification campaign, we will also clean out bad elements from the Communist Party. But the rectification campaign goes beyond that.

Kang asked, "What is the rectification campaign as Mao puts it?" The rectification campaign in this case is the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Some comrades of the people's democracies thought the Communist Party of China launched this rectification campaign to counter the original thesis of Mao of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend," and that the rectification campaign was to control the effects of this original idea, but they are mistaken. For instance, some in the Polish Party thought that when we launched our rectification campaign against the rightists, we gave up the policy of the idea of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend." We think they misunderstood our policy as regards the rectification campaign

and also misunderstood the essence of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend." Kang said the rectification campaign proves the following point. The "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend" idea was correct. It also proves that the Communist Party should continue the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend" in art, in literature, in science, et cetera.

Kang asked, "Why and for what purpose did we launch the rectification campaign?" Let us look at it historically. In 1949, the Chinese people won a victory on a national scale. We took over the State apparatus. As pointed out in the Twelve-Party Declaration, the capture of State power by the proletariat is only the beginning of the revolution. In this connection, some foreign comrades, in their articles, say that China is a model for a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. But they seem to forget that the Communist Party of China and the people fought for twenty years to achieve State power.

We also thought that we would like a peaceful transition, that we would negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek. But the ruling circles thought otherwise and used violence against us. We should always make two-sided preparations. If we can get a peaceful transition, that is good. But if the bourgeoisie uses violence, we do not hesitate to use armed power to take the State into our own hands. The experiences of the Chinese revolution did not prove that the Chinese revolution was a moral or peaceful transition from capitalism into socialism. The Chinese people launched revolutionary wars to capture State power.

Then Kang said that when we got State power into our hands, as is pointed out in the Twelve-Party Declaration, this State power was only the beginning. After winning the revolution in 1949, the task before the Communist Party and the working class was to continue socialist transformation. Also to continue the economic socialist revolution in order to change ownership of the means of production.

Kang said that the socialist revolution on the economic front was victorious and was basically completed in 1956 in China. This socialist transformation of the economy was completed peacefully. In 1956, the bourgeoisie joined this transformation and began to beat the drums. This may be due to the fact that the capitalists of China who marched in the procession welcoming the socialist transformation forget that we fought for twenty

years to capture State power. Kang said, in this connection, there is a secret. Even with State power, if we did not have several million armed men, we could not do it. They, the capitalists, would not have marched to welcome the revolution unless we had military support. When we completed the socialist revolution, when we won a victory on the economic front, when ownership changed, who will conquer whom was not finally decided.

Parenthetically, Kang was saying that who will conquer whom cannot be decided by capturing State power, but is a long process and is also decided by the building of big industry, ideological changes, et cetera.

Kang said if we do not continue to carry on an ideological revolution on the political and ideological front, the socialist revolution which is won on the economic front could not be consolidated. The events in Hungary prove this point exactly. The lesson provided by Hungary is a lesson for all brother parties. In Hungary, the socialist revolution on the economic front was basically completed. In Hungary, they thought they had won on the economic front. They did not carry out the socialist revolution on the political and ideological front, and the enemies inside and outside could, therefore, stage or attempt to stage a comeback. This point is made clear in the Twelve-Party Declaration. It is said in this declaration that the bourgeoisie, though defeated, would like to stage a comeback. Even after State power is won, the influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals is still strong.

According to Kang, the Twelve-Party Declaration asks, "Who will win, capitalism or socialism?" The Twelve-Party Declaration states that this question will be settled and won after a prolonged period of struggle, which follows the capture of power. Therefore, this formulation is included in the common laws governing transition. It points out that we must carry out the socialist revolution on the ideological front in order to build up a mighty army of intellectuals, faithful to the working class and the revolution. The Communist Party of China views this universal truth as being very important.

Then Kang stated, our Party sees it in this sense. If we do not conduct socialist revolution on an ideological and cultural front, who conquers whom is not solved. The rectification campaign launched by our Party was exactly in conformity with this universal truth. You have to carry on a socialist revolution on the ideological and cultural front.

Therefore, we should not look upon the rectification campaign as simply a campaign against the counter-revolutionists, nor is it simply a Party purge. There is a contention that perhaps the Party made some mistakes when it supported the thesis of Mao of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend." It was this misunderstanding which is really the main reason we have launched the rectification campaign at this time.

Now, let us discuss who the targets are. Who are the individuals? What were the methods used and the aims in this campaign? The rectification campaign, in reality, is a movement of the entire nation and all of the people are concerned. To put it into simple language, we should ask, "Who is involved?" Involved is the Party, the army, the people, the students, the professionals, et cetera. Everybody is involved. Since the objectives of all those we have cited are different, the targets come from different classes. The methods used and the nature of the attack against them are also different.

Kang asked, "What are the ramifications of the rectification campaign?" (1) It is the contradiction between ourselves (the Party) and the enemy (capitalists or the remnants of those who carry capitalist thoughts and ideology inside and outside the country). (2) It is the contradictions among the people. (This total idea that Kang uses as the summary is based on Mao's famous thesis of 1956 "On Contradictions.")

Then Kang explained that contradictions existing between the people and the bourgeois rightists, landlords, rich peasants, and all the bad elements, we call contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. There has been a big upsurge among these bad elements since 1956, when they watched United States imperialism launch an attack on the U.S.S.R. regarding Hungary. They took this as a signal for them to attack the Party and the Government. All of the attacks of these elements took place under concrete circumstances as they prevailed in China. They did not carry on this campaign openly. They cloaked themselves as would-be supporters of socialism. But they had certain reservations about socialism and always pointed to the bad things in socialism. These bad elements, like Dulles, formulated a fight against what they called sectarianism or dogmatism. These elements, under the false flag of fighting dogmatism, actually camouflaged their struggle against Marxism-Leninism. They said that they were supporters of socialism, but they do not want the leadership of the Communist Party. They even talked about the duty to kill Communist Party members; and even if all the Communist Party members were killed off, they could still have socialism anyway.

launched a rectification campaign among the petty bourgeoisie parties and their followers. The nature of the rectification campaign towards these people is to get these people to accept socialism and to remodel themselves ideologically.

Towards the petty bourgeoisie, the rich middle peasants, the independent laborers in the city and country, the nature of the rectification campaign is to get them to transform themselves, that is, to become socialist-minded. Then he emphasized the nature of the rectification campaign among the Party and working class is different. The aim in this rectification campaign for the workers and the Party members is to improve their style of work. For instance, we want to get rid of bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism; that is, to change this bad style of work.

Kang said that in a general way, the rectification campaign among the people is a nationwide campaign of socialist education raising the level of Marxism-Leninism. It is an ideological campaign. It is also a campaign to use the method of criticism and self-criticism--criticism for our own education.

(Here I might point out that in order to reach the illiterate and uneducated masses, they encouraged what they call a "big letter poster campaign." They urged everybody who had something to say to take a big sheet of paper, write as large as they can in one-inch, two-inch or three-inch letters, and put it up at their place of employment or on a wall of some building. Wherever I went in Peking or in the countryside around Peking, I noticed these big handwritten posters, which you can read from maybe thirty or forty feet away. Usually, the complaint is a sentence or two dealing with the problems the people face or something they have to say about the factory, farm, village or any institution. The walls are covered with such posters.)

The rectification campaign against the class enemy is of a mass, political, class struggle nature, in order to beat the enemy and its antisocialism, anticommunism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the rectification campaign expresses the antagonistic and irreconcilable nature of the people against the antisocialist enemies. Briefly, among the people, the rectification campaign is a struggle of the proletarian ideology against the nonproletarian ideology. Toward the enemy, the rectification campaign is a struggle of the revolutionaries against the counterrevolutionaries. Because these two methods are different in nature, the methods used are also different.

Continuing, Kang said that these elements say that Marxism-Leninism is outdated and outmoded. Also, that since the death of Frederick Engels, who died after Karl Marx, Marxism is dead. These elements also oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. They substituted for the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and invented a many-sided form of socialism. They said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a low stage of socialism. The bad elements said that in China there are no classes. Therefore, the workers, peasants and intellectuals should take turns ruling the country. This was their conception of many-sided socialism and was for them a high stage of socialism.

Kang said these bad elements also said that in the Soviet Union there is nothing but dogmatism and no culture. They said that science in the United States is superior to that of the Soviet Union. We never treated as scented flowers the words and deeds of these bad elements. We look upon them as poisonous weeds. We are not afraid of these poisonous weeds. We allowed these weeds to grow. Since these weeds are objective reality, we cannot prevent them from growing, and we cannot, with oversimplified methods, eliminate them. Once the poisonous weeds grew, we chopped them out. We found that once we chopped the weeds down, we turned them into fertilizer.

The counterrevolutionists and the poisonous weeds can also be utilized to educate the people. In this sense, these bad elements are "teachers," but in a negative sense. Dulles, Eisenhower and Chiang Kai-shek are such "teachers."

He went on to say that the Communist Party of China also published Tito's articles in full. Kang said that in 1956, Tito made a vicious speech in Pula. Recently, when Tito acted up, we published a book of all his speeches, including his recent speech. We allow the poisonous weeds to reach a certain growth. Then we chop them down to use as fertilizer.

Then he asked, what do we do with these elements, such as the landlords, the rich peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the right-wing writers? We destroy some of them. We remodel most of them. Kang emphasized that the struggle against these people is an irreconcilable life-and-death struggle.

Next Kang talked about the second category of this question of the ramifications of the rectification campaign--contradiction among the people. Regarding this contradiction, Kang said this includes different strata. He went on to say that within the realm of the contradiction among the people, we

With regard to methods used against the bourgeois rightists, Kang stated, we adopted very firm measures to expose them, to break them, to split them, to isolate them, to remodel them, and even to punish them. The method used among the people is mainly one of education. Here again, Kang used one of the famous slogans of Mao: "Unity - Criticism - Unity."

Kang explained that this formula in full starts with a desire for unity, proceeds through criticism and struggle to solve the contradictions in order to reach a new unity on a higher level. (Actually, this is Mao's thesis, which is decades old.) Whether towards the enemy or towards the people, this is a form of a great airing of views, involving great debates, discussions and wall papers (posters), expressing the mass views of our Party.

Kang asked the following questions: What is the aim in the rectification campaign? What is its end? As pointed out in the articles by Mao, the aim of the rectification campaign is to get a correct political orientation for everybody. All the people should be concretely aware that they want to travel on the road of socialism. The second aim is to raise the political and ideological level of all the people. To raise the level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Another aim of the rectification campaign is to correct shortcomings and weaknesses in our Party work. All the Party members should get rid of their bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism. In this regard, Kang talked of the five "airs": (A) Extravagant air; (B) Pathetic air; (C) Finicky air; (D) Bureaucratic air; and (E) Arrogant air. Kang spoke about certain removals. He said that they had to remove certain people. They had to censure certain people and organizations. The fourth objective to be reached in the rectification campaign is to unite the masses in the widest extent. That is, to mobilize all the positive factors. To build socialism by exerting the utmost efforts and pressing consistently. Then he cited the slogan of the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China: "More--Better, Faster and More Economically" (pertains to the building of socialism). The fifth aim of the rectification campaign is to remodel all the elements who are against socialism--the bourgeois writers and intellectuals--to split them up, isolate them, remodel them.

Kang said in summarizing, as Mao put it in brief: We want to create a political atmosphere in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind. Such a political

atmosphere would be advantageous for the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We would more easily overcome difficulties so that we could build socialism more rapidly in our country, modernize industry and agriculture. In this atmosphere, our Party and our State would be more consolidated and could face and endure storm and stress.

(By way of comment, this second session of the 8th Congress was the only time in history where a Communist Party adjourned a convention and then reconvened it two years later at the same convention, second session. The Russians disagreed with this. Time means nothing to the Chinese in the sense that it does to us.)

(They speak of bitter years of struggle. They feel that if they can bring about unity through the rectification campaigns then they can face storm and stress because ideologically they would be consolidated.)

Kang went on to give a brief outline of the stages and steps as they developed the rectification campaign. The current rectification campaign was first launched on May 1, 1957, fourteen months ago. He said, according to plan, we drew some conclusions at the end of July or the middle of August. This first stage of the rectification campaign was from May 1, 1957, to June 8, 1957. (This was the first stage, which lasted a little over a month. Actually, they talked of a six-week campaign.)

Kang said, this first stage of the rectification campaign was called "The great airing of views." The characteristic of the first stage was this: Our Party allowed all kinds of views to be expressed against the Government, against the Communist Party, against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism, et cetera. This included allowing the bourgeois writers outside the Party to participate out loud.

(Privately, they told me they had a hard job restraining the Communist Party members so that these outside the Party would be allowed to talk.)

According to Kang, the main line of thought which came out in the first stage of the rectification campaign was opposition to agricultural cooperatives for China. This opposition was expressed not only by the bourgeois writers outside the Party, but by those inside the Party who are of rich peasant origin.

They, too, opposed agricultural cooperatives for China. They opposed the wholesale buying and supplying of agricultural products by the State. These people, who were opposed to agricultural cooperatives, opposed the main movements of the Party. For example, they opposed the land reform. They opposed the 1952 campaign against capitalists, who were punished because they committed crimes against the State. They opposed the punishment of those who took bribes or who gave out economic secrets. These petty bourgeois writers opposed the measures which were used against the capitalists. They opposed the movement for suppression of counterrevolution. They also opposed the Party's effort at ideological rearmament. They labeled all these movements as dogmatism. The bourgeois writers also attacked Party rule. They said the Party acts as if it is the world, and they denounced One-Party rule. They opposed the leadership of the Communist Party and socialism.

Kang said, we allowed all these words to come out. We even published some of these views in the Party press. These elements put forward these poisonous weeds under the guise of helping to launch the rectification campaign, which was started by the Communist Party. We allowed these people to express themselves--to talk out loud. At the same time, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued directives to the lower organizations not to refute these bourgeois writers. Some members did not agree with us. Some members charged the Central Committee made opportunist mistakes by allowing this discussion to go on. Some youths wept at night because the Party allowed the people to express themselves. Some said even Mao committed a mistake of right deviation in character.

Kang Sheng went on to say that this free hand we gave to these elements exposed those who hid in our ranks, even though the vacillators objected to this campaign. For instance, we had a bourgeois writer in the Party who was the head of a province. He is now expelled. He was arrested during the Kuomintang regime. While he was in jail, he capitulated. He exposed himself in this campaign. We found people in our ranks who opposed centralism. These, of course, were the "provincialists."

Kang said, in the Province of Sinkiang (autonomous region), some of the people exposed themselves as narrow nationalists. Those in the Party were not firm in their class stand and wavered. Some even went to the enemy, ideologically, and remained there. Some tried to pose as 100 per cent Marxists. In this sense, it was harder for us than for the Communist Party, USA, where you have the class enemy as it is, and the

revisionists, who spoke openly for such a line. Our enemies stayed inside. If they had left, they would have been isolated from the people.

Kang went on to say that the first stage of the rectification campaign lasted a little over a month, and all of the newspapers were full of the remarks uttered by these bad elements. In the course of this one month, all the reactionary viewpoints came out. In the meantime, the Central Committee gathered its forces and launched the counterattack. He emphasized this. He said we used this method to create illusions that the Communist Party was weak and would not hold on to its power. The bad elements dreamed that there would be a Hungarian incident in China. The rightists estimated that the masses of China would leave the Communist Party and would demonstrate. They also thought that the Communist Party lost its control over the people. Of course, they knew that the Communist Party could mobilize the army. But if the Communist Party mobilized the army, it would lose the masses. This was a completely wrong estimation of the influence of the Communist Party. These rightists believed that all the communist parties in the world would go downhill; that they would break up.

Kang said on June 8, 1957, we published an editorial in the Communist Party paper, launching an attack on the rightists. In one week's time, these forces were broken up. Now we entered the second stage--the stage of struggle against the bourgeois rightists. They said that they were "duped" by the Communist Party. They cried, "You asked for an airing of views. Now you attack us." They called it "baiting the fish." They cried, "You put forward the thesis of 'Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend.'" Now you violate your own policy." But the Communist Party said from the very beginning, "We call all the ideas against the Communist Party weeds which should be chopped down." We answered them and said that we will continue the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend," but the poisonous weeds will be chopped down.

According to Kang, this second stage of struggle lasted over five months. In this second stage, we won a unanimous victory. These rightists were exposed by the entire people--300,000 rightists were exposed. (According to the resolution adopted at the second session of the 8th Congress, 400,000 rightists were exposed and about 20,000 Party members were expelled.)

Kang said when these people were exposed, the eyes of all the people were opened. These enemies could no longer camouflage as supporters of socialism. He went on to say that this struggle is a very concrete form of socialist education among the people. It helped the people to understand the victory of the economic revolution, and also that this economic revolution could not be consolidated without an ideological victory. When "we" talk about 300,000 rightists exposed, this includes big and small (he means important and nonimportant people), because only 2 per cent were really die-hards. But a section, even of these remoulded, will be vacillating for a long time.

Kang went on to say that if the United States dropped an atom bomb on Peking, these 2 per cent would show their face again; since they will carry their ideas to the grave. Since October of last year, the rectification campaign entered its third stage. This stage is called improving of work and correcting weaknesses. Kang said after beating the enemy, we should correct our own shortcomings. This third stage was a mass movement involving all the schools, factories, communities, et cetera. Everybody was involved to improve our work. The third stage included a "great airing of views" and developed into a big upsurge. We allowed freedom of the masses. We asked them to criticize the work of the Party. In this stage, everybody was involved. A million papers bloomed! (That is, wall papers, posters, et cetera.)

The ideas and suggestions put forward on wall papers are good ideas, in the majority of cases. Some criticism is due to misunderstanding. Some mistakes were made in this criticism, according to Kang.

Then Kang stated the third period of the rectification campaign was a very difficult one. In the second stage, our cadre was brave. But during the third stage, we tried to get the masses to criticize the Communist Party "to burn out the mistakes from our bodies." Mao said that there are two torches in the rectification campaign. One was to burn out the enemy. The second torch was to burn out the mistakes of the Communist Party. In this situation, the vast majority of the Party members were brave enough to ask the masses to light a fire under the communists. Some cadre forces were waiting for the torch. Some were afraid that they would get burned. This third stage lasted until the end of the second session of the 8th Congress, which was at the end of May. It lasted for seven months. After this third period, the Party relations with the masses improved

immensely. Throughout the third stage of the rectification campaign, we were able to burn out, in the main, the five "airs" and the three "isms." Now we are in the fourth stage of the campaign; and that is, to ask all Party members to study certain Marxist-Leninist documents and to study their own thoughts, to improve themselves. Of course, the aim of this stage is to raise the Marxist-Leninist level of the entire Party. Kang also talked about the propaganda campaign which is being carried out in this stage. For this purpose, the Central Committee has compiled two volumes of documents, using Mao's articles on contradictions and including other Marxist-Leninist documents.

Kang said that the rectification campaign is not completely over. But we see results already. The first result is in the big leap forward. Production is developing by leaps and bounds. We realize that when people have gone through a socialist revolution ideologically, they will achieve better results in production--results beyond imagination. For instance, the production of wheat on a "caddie" or 1/15 of an acre--2½ tons or 2,500 kilograms. He said so far this year they have increased steel production by five million tons. It will be increased by ten million tons by the end of the year. The grain increase alone for this year is fifty million tons. He said that the result of the leap forward is so remarkable, that the press hid it. Even the socialist press is afraid to publish figures on agriculture. If there was no proper connection between the rectification campaign and the building of socialism, some of these things would be inconceivable.

Kang stated that the second achievement of the rectification campaign is a political and ideological leap forward. Now there is a big upsurge in the learning of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao. The workers are organizing study groups to study the philosophy of Mao. In the villages, astonishing things are happening. In Shao, which is smaller than a county, a Party secretary was brave enough to use his concrete experiences to explain the law of unity of opposites.

(He wanted to show that a Party secretary of an organization smaller than a county is discussing philosophy and wanted to point out this is becoming widespread.)

Kang also stated that another low cadre in Honan Province was spending two months to study the philosophy of Mao. As a result of a study of the Party and the mass movement, you learn how to rely on the masses. With the victory of the ideological revolution among the masses, the basis has been laid for the unfolding of a cultural and technological revolution.

Kang said that in the past there was a great deal of illiteracy in China. Now, plans have been mapped out so within even a year or so there will be no illiteracy. China is establishing a compulsory system of education.

In Kiring, in the Northeast, there is not a single illiterate. But we still have many difficulties but not the kind of difficulties Tito accuses us of. Our difficulties are of growth and advance. We do not have enough population.

Continuing, Kang stated that in the United States, there has been a reduction in steel production. We face a shortage of steel. Tito, in a recent speech, said China has a lot of difficulties. That is why we fight Tito and go to the U.S.S.R. for aid. Then Kang said that revisionism has one characteristic the world over. These revisionists never understood how to defend purity of Marxism-Leninism. Tito has always interchanged Marxism-Leninism with bourgeois money. For example, Tito's relationship with the United States. When Tito accuses us of wanting to borrow money, and that is why we attacked him, actually he is using his own attitude towards the United States or towards the socialist states. The Kuomintang used to say the same thing.

Kang went on to say, we have difficulties while in the process of progress. Society is always in the stage of incessant revolution. The rectification campaign will also develop and continue, as Mao says, once every two years. A new rectification campaign will be started every two years.

Concerning the differences in leadership, as rumored by the imperialists and revisionists, Kang said we answer in the affirmative. In the history of our Party, we fought opportunists. We fought Chou Tu-su. In the early days, we fought against the left sectarianism of Li Li-san. We have learned from left and right mistakes. In 1935, our Party established a leadership headed by Mao Tse-tung. The first rectification campaign in Yunnan helped to establish a solid leadership, united under Mao, which fought against dogmatism and revisionism and this leadership has always been united. Since the first rectification campaign, in the course of sixteen years, one victory followed after another. This is because our leadership has been united. From the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, we always exposed anti-Party cliques. In 1953-1954, we exposed Kao Kong and Rao Shue-sze, members of the Central Committee. After their exposures and after smashing them, Kao committed suicide.

MEETINGS WITH LIU NING-YI

I had two meetings, lasting over eight hours, with Liu Ning-yi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The leadership of the Communist Party of China thought that he was the most capable person still alive who could talk about the experiences of the Communist Party of China in carrying on underground activity, infiltrating mass organizations, and emphasizing the long-range perspective.

Both in Moscow and in Peking, they were surprised to learn that at this time the Communist Party, USA, has no real, secret, illegal apparatus which is organized. Of course, I told them that the Communist Party, USA, does have what might be called semi-illegal organizations. I said that the Communist Party members in industry are virtually, if not totally, illegal. I also said that in many plants, known communists will not be hired and that some unions expel communists. I said that meetings of Communist Party, USA, industrial committees are always held secretly. Of course, they considered my trip as a victory over the bourgeoisie, and that at least some of these things I mentioned were a step forward. However, they could not understand why there is not an unknown underground apparatus with parallel leaders in the Communist Party, USA.

The leading members of the Communist Party of China said that they expected the Communist Party, USA, to keep fighting and not to liquidate the Party. They said that it is quite possible that the Communist Party, USA, will have to go underground again. They pointed out that there should always be some kind of an underground apparatus and that perhaps the Communist Party, USA, could learn from their experiences. They warned that the Communist Party, USA, should not try to duplicate their methods too mechanically, but should use whatever it can from the experiences of the Chinese underground. They said that some of these experiences can be considered universal. However, many experiences may be unique to the circumstances which existed in China.

The Communist Party of China knows a lot about the fight which developed in the Communist Party, USA, after the underground period. This is why they wanted to relate their experiences in the underground to the Communist Party, USA. While this underground material may seem old, it should be of great interest to us. The Communist Party of China favors a long-term outlook and the infiltration of everything. They have a long-range outlook. A few years means nothing to them, while in most western countries such long-range plans are nonexistent.

The meetings with Liu Ning-yi took place in one of the large, downstairs rooms in the guest house where I lived in the International Liaison Department compound in Peking.

Present at these meetings were Li Chi-hsin, secretary of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, who took the minutes; Madam Yu Chi-ying; Tang Ming-chao; Lin Tang; Liu Ning-yi, and myself.

Liu Ning-yi is a member of the Central Committee. He is one of the important officials in the Chinese trade-union movement. He is also an important official in the International Federation of Trade-Unions. He was the chief organizer and head of the underground in Shanghai, which is one of their industrial cities. While he was in the underground in Shanghai, he operated a store, possibly a drug store. He travelled between Shanghai and Yunnan Province. Once when he returned to Shanghai, the Japanese had changed the registration system. He lived with the police in Shanghai until they were able to obtain for him the necessary documents so he could pass inspection by the Japanese. They used this as an example of how they can infiltrate anything.

Liu Ning-yi is about 5'10½" in height, weighs about 175 pounds, and has straight features. He is very light in complexion, almost white. He has a full head of hair, none of which is gray. He is about 45 years of age. He is silent most of the time and is not given to emotional expression in his conversations.

Liu Ning-yi was supposed to leave Peking on July 11, 1958, for the peace conference in Stockholm, Sweden. He met us at the Peking Airport and said goodbye to us.

Remarks of Liu Ning-yi

Liu started by saying that both their legal and illegal experiences, or their total experiences, under the Kuomintang regime have not yet been summarized. He said, "we can give you some documents by Mao Tse-tung regarding 'policy' and some collective documents of Liu Shao-chi, particularly his article on work in the White Area (area controlled by the Kuomintang or capitalist class)."

He said he is not familiar with the details of Communist Party, USA, underground activities; therefore, he is going to limit himself to Chinese underground activities.

Liu pointed out that their history was nine years of mistakes in illegal work. There was a time when we committed mistakes because of Li Li-san's line and we committed mistakes for some time afterwards.

(Li Li-san is still alive. He participated in the rectification campaign. He criticized himself during the rectification campaign. He went all the way back to the late 1920's and early 1930's. At the time, he was in Moscow, where he had been sent. He talked of his mistakes in a meeting of the Comintern. In essence, his mistakes consisted of what they called leftism. He thought that they could organize uprisings in the larger cities, and once they started the uprisings in these cities, then uprisings in other cities would follow. He was one of the leaders of the Communist Party of China in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Naturally, his policy failed. The Party was crushed. He was removed and he has never been in the top leadership since, although he occupies a leading post now in the Chinese Communist Party.)

Liu said that from 1935, we corrected these mistakes in our illegal work in the White Area, and this work was good until the liberation in 1949.

He went on to explain why they made these mistakes in the early period. The basic reason for failures in the illegal work in that early period can be attributed to a mistake in political line. But since 1935, according to Mao Tse-tung, the correct political line was formulated and established. The political line is a very important question. We may study technique. We may even master it. But if we miss the political line or make mistakes in the political line, our work will end in failure.

He said that they gave attention to technique during that period, but not to politics or policy. That is, they "worked with legs but not with brains." He quoted Mao again, who said, politics is the soul and should take command. Work without a soul must fail.

(Here again he meant to emphasize that politics or the general line is more important than the mere tactics.)

Liu said the line has been correct since 1935, and since then one idea was certain--that is, that the nature of our revolt against imperialism and feudalism would be a long

and torturous path. He said they had to understand this. This was very important. Because Li Li-san's line was one of impatience and of coup. You mobilize and try to overthrow a regime or you fail. This is why the question of a long and torturous struggle, as formulated in the policy, was so important.

He said the struggle in China was an anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle, and many classes were involved--not only the workers. But precisely because of the nature of the composition of the people fighting imperialism and feudalism, it was necessary and imperative to build a Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism. Since the Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, was to lead the struggle against imperialism, this Party should have broader unity with the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all patriots. It was especially important to build the workers and peasants alliance.

(Mao, in his remarks to me, told me not to neglect the farmer, even though they may be small in numbers in the United States. Naturally, in China, the peasantry assumes greater importance because of the number.)

Continuing, Liu said only in this way could we be victorious. He pointed out that this was an important task--to establish this alliance between the workers and the peasants--and could not be done in a short period of time. It required a long time. They had to have the long-term outlook.

He went on to emphasize that the greatest tasks are always the most difficult tasks. He said even the fact that the struggle in China was a long-term struggle was not understood by all. Some people thought it would be easy and thought in short terms. Because they did not view this as a long-term task, they made short-term plans and exposed themselves.

(He is now referring to the illegal workers.)

Because they were impatient, they did not complete their tasks and disillusionment always followed.

(There is always emphasis on the long-term outlook.)

Then he repeated things which others said before. In the strategic respect, we should look down on the enemy because it is a decaying class. It will die and the workers will be victorious. The imperialists will be finished off and we must equip ourselves with this outlook--that is, imperialism

from a Marxist-Leninist point of view is decaying and is finished. Tactically, however, we must correctly estimate the enemy and view it seriously and adopt careful and cautious tactics. For instance, if we have a man of 80, he will soon die. But in the child of 5, there is plenty of vitality, and this child will win eventually. A man of 80 can still give the child of 5 a beating, but strategically the man of 80 will fail. The question is how to cultivate the child of 5 so that after a few years he can give the old man a beating. (Of course, the "old man" is imperialism.)

When in the song "The International" we sing of a victorious tomorrow, this can be twenty, thirty, or one hundred years from now. From the point of view of human history, a century is nothing. But five years in day-to-day work is really a long five years. We say that the over-all revolutionary situation was good when a one-million-man revolutionary army surrounded Shanghai. But even at the time we crossed the Yangtze, the reactionaries were still about to murder our workers and comrades in the city. We could not substitute the over-all political situation in Shanghai for the practical needs. That is, to say "tomorrow" the city will be liberated, but today the workers in Shanghai will be killed.

Liu stated we must see the distinction between tactical plans and the over-all strategic picture. The strategic outlook must not replace the plans of work in a factory. Our mistakes of leftist sectarianism lie in this. These mistakes estimated that imperialism is in a crisis and that the ruling classes were involved in a political crisis. Therefore, this particular plant or factory must also be in a crisis. Therefore, we must fight in this factory. (Li Li-san's line.)

(Liu was warning against the fact that you cannot substitute the strategic outlook for daily tactical needs and that the sectarians would substitute for this strategic idea the tactical estimation in a given area.)

From this factory, we have to develop the struggle to the city; from the city to the province; and from the province to the country. (All this is linked to the strategic idea—that is, that capitalism or imperialism is dying.)

Liu then asked is such a thing possible? Sometimes it is, but it is not that simple. We must understand that the over-all strategic outlook is correct or good. This should strengthen confidence in our work. But in a particular factory, the estimate of this particular factory should be real and tactics should be adapted for this plant. We will have a struggle in this factory, but whether it will develop into a nationwide victory, we cannot say. It is not always possible to develop a factory struggle into a national struggle. Therefore, we should accumulate strength and we should not engage in adventurism. We communists are not gamblers. All our methods of work should be around one principle. Everything should have the long-term perspective.

Despite the fact that we had guerrilla warfare and guerrilla areas in the cities, the ruling classes--the imperialists and capitalists and bureaucratic capitalism--were still strong. Therefore, in the cities, the situation was that the enemy was stronger and we were weaker. It was, therefore, necessary to accumulate strength and forces over a long period.

Then Liu asked, "How can we accumulate our strength and our forces?" With regard to this, the first question is that of the Communist Party. The Communist Party should unceasingly develop, consolidate, grow some more, and swell its strength. One should see to it that the Communist Party organization should not be disrupted. At the same time, we mobilize to the fullest extent the broadest masses to swell our ranks. In this sense, there is the integration of legal and illegal work. The Party organization should be absolutely secret. But the mass work should be absolutely open and legal. This is a unity of opposites. In the past, we had a wrong understanding of this question. We wanted to build a mass Party. We thought we must integrate legal and illegal secret work with our open work. The words themselves are all right, but the essence of the question is against Marxism-Leninism.

Liu said it is correct to build a mass Party because this means a Communist party with a mass following. But if we interpret this to mean that the building of a mass Party means to recruit the masses and lower the standards of Party membership and to open up the Party ranks to all sorts of membership, then we are exposing our members to the enemy. If we carry on mass recruiting, lower the standards, though we pay lip service to illegal work, it is ostrich-like, where the head is in the sand and the body is exposed. Mass recruitment means exposing the Party. Therefore, such a Party could not stand storm and stress. Spies will get into such a Party.

Take this case: All the leaders are holding a secret meeting. The next day we lead a demonstration. We exposed ourselves. This was called "integration" of legal and illegal work in those days. When a particular comrade led a strike, the police followed him and in this way they traced others. This so-called integration integrated the secret police into our Party and into our secret work. As a result, the strike was broken up. The police followed, discovered the secret meetings, and all those who participated were arrested. Then gradually it developed that the masses were afraid. They were afraid because they thought that if they are led by communists and they are discovered, their strikes will only lead to failure.

Liu stated that on every special occasion or on May Day we held some demonstration. Of course, the police would follow. There were raids and arrests, et cetera. Leading Party comrades did not refrain from attending. They went to these demonstrations because some Party people "accused" them of cowardice if they did not go. They were not afraid of the arrests. They were more afraid of the accusation of cowardice. Although these things invariably failed (this combination of illegal work and demonstrations), sectarians would always say, "We extended our political influence." But even on the eve of the downfall of our enemies, the membership got smaller and smaller. The workers would say to a Party member, "Do not come to me. I am afraid of my job." Then they would make charges, such as "You guys get money from abroad." Other workers would say that communists did not get money from abroad, but they are crazy. The Party was getting smaller. The masses did not follow the Party when it made such mistakes and the Party became isolated. For nine years, we pursued this wrong line. Many of our comrades were isolated, tortured, imprisoned and killed. Yet, the prestige of the Party remained. The masses finally found that we were not Moscow agents, but that we were not practical people either.

After nine years, we came to the realization that we were wrong. We concluded that these methods (integration of legal and illegal work) were wrong. We concluded that the political line and the tactics were wrong. We analyzed and concluded that the Party organization must be absolutely secret and the mass work must be open. Can we say that we want the Party to be secret? We should raise high the Marxist-Leninist banner wherever there is a legal possibility. We should utilize every legal possibility. But the conditions do not always permit this. Therefore, illegal work is necessary. In spite of the fact that the Party wants to be legal, if there

is a possibility we should always look ahead. Only in this way will we avoid extermination. It is a life-and-death struggle. We could do open and legal work, but the enemy would use this to finish us off. We will give the enemy a blow by using legality. The enemy wants to drive us underground, but we organize the masses and give them blows. We give the enemy blows from the underground. Legal or illegal work is not an aim in itself. It is a method of struggle.

It is wrong to say that our Party likes to be open or illegal or to place the problem in this fashion. It is wrong to say the Chinese liked illegal work or that the Communist Party, USA, likes to do legal work. It boils down to the use of what method under what conditions. Therefore, the question of legality or illegality continues to shift on the basis of events or a given situation.

Liu said that during the days of the Kuomintang and the Japanese occupation, we had little chance of coming into the open. For quite a few years our Party had Party representatives stationed in the Kuomintang areas (during World War II). But we were always on guard, realizing that the enemy would like to finish us off. The real Communist Party organization must be absolutely secret to preserve our strength. Despite the fact that the Party had legal headquarters in the Kuomintang area, comrades worked in secret and had no contact with the headquarters.

He had two systems of organization. I worked in Shanghai during two periods. During the Japanese occupation, I worked for five to six years in illegal work. Then I went secretly to Yunnan, then came out again to Chungking. Then I went to Shanghai as a representative legal figure. The second time I was in Shanghai, I had no contact with the underground. Therefore, the first period was absolutely secret. The second period absolutely legal. The second time I represented the trade-union and contacted United States labor attaches. I could not combine two jobs in one person at one time.

Then Liu said the underground Party organization should be absolutely secret and the enemy should have no knowledge of its personnel or its organization. He said, "Here is a difficult question." It is easy to go from illegal to legal work. But to go from legal to illegal work is very difficult. At the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, many Communist Party members were known as legal members of the

Communist Party. When the upsurge developed, some members resented the recruitment of others. Then Liu asked, "What is the criteria for membership in a revolutionary period or the high tide when people want to become Party members?" When there is a low tide, people see Communist Party members and run away from them. Developments in the Party are not even. At the same time, we can have high tides in one area and low tides in another area. The Party leadership should determine if a national tide will continue or if a low tide is coming. The Party leadership should examine to see where there is a high or low tide. The leader's heart should be warm, but he should be cool in the head. (He should not be taken in by certain local circumstances.)

Continuing, Liu said, Party leaders should not fall behind the masses. In 1937, there was a high tide in Shanghai. Many people wanted to join the Communist Party, but the Central Committee said that Shanghai was not reliable. We may lose Shanghai. China will be occupied. There will be low tide and even fascism. The exposed Communist Party members changed their methods of work or left Shanghai. Even before evacuation, we reduced activity and changed the methods of work to save our Party members. Future recruits were all underground. We made advance preparations. If we would not have done so, it may have been too late, when the Japanese came in. When the Japanese came into Shanghai, the Communist Party members had already left, changed their jobs, and others took their place, et cetera. He said that you have to measure the tides and prepare in advance.

(In their opinion, the underground of the Communist Party, USA, was just one big mistake.)

Liu stated that new members were organized into new cells so there would be no contact with old Party members. If we relied only on the old members, there would be continual exposure. The former Party members were later recruited and set up in separate organizations, with a new leadership. If the old members continued to lead the new organization, they would expose not only themselves, but the new Party organization, also. If the old members drop away or become passive, the enemy sometimes believes they are no longer active. The old Party members who are present should be completely divorced from the new. The new Party organization should develop on a new basis so it will be reliable. If we did not make drastic decisions of complete severance of the old and the new, exposure would be inevitable. If one comrade was exposed, we would not allow him

to attend any meetings any more. If one place was exposed and destroyed, we did not try to reorganize it. If a comrade was arrested in that place, and if we sent a new leader to work, he, too, would be exposed. Therefore, amputation is needed in such a situation. Carry on as individuals and do not form a new organization.

We prepared our Party membership for this. We told them ahead of time of such a possibility, so there would be no spreading of the infection of exposure.

With regard to the form of Party organization, Liu said, we should be organized on an industrial basis. A secret Party should not be big. Exposure is easier if the organization is big. In an underground Party, the main thing is quality, not quantity. Recruiting according to necessity is not possible in an illegal situation. For instance, in one place the Party recruited three members. Then there were four. In another place, there may be twenty prospective members, but we do not recruit them. Some can look for the Party. Some can carry on work, but not as members. They can do mass work better. For instance, in a big factory, if we had only five to eight really good Communist Party members but many friends, they can lead this factory. On the contrary, if we had fifty low-quality members, the result would lead to exposure.

Liu asked what is meant by "good Party members?" First of all, personal history must be known. We should know the political face, work, historical connection with this particular factory, et cetera, of this individual. The workers in the factory may not know that a given individual is a Communist Party member. But the workers might say that he is a "good guy," a friend of the workers. If a worker is fired, they look to this "good guy" for advice. Where is the strategic position in a factory for this comrade? The strategic position is where the most important work is being done. He must try to get into that strategic workshop. In general, it is difficult to get into such places. Where communists can get in easily, there is no need for skill. These are the less important shops. It is easy to get in among the casual workers or the unemployed. However, if we organize Party cells in nonstrategic factories, we are spending time with unimportant workers who are not effective.

Once in a bus company there were no Party members among the drivers, machinists, janitors, et cetera. This is not very effective. If we are not in the mainstream, we cannot be effective and even though a city is "liberated," our people do not know important sections of the workers. Migratory workers are not reliable. We do not know their history.

Next, Liu stated that the highly skilled worker will not listen to the unskilled or to the casual workers. Even progressive workers would be suspicious of casual workers. When we carry on activity, we find that work among these casual workers is easier. We work among these, too, but the aim is to get them into strategic departments. We work among the unemployed, too. We should try to link the employed and the unemployed. At the same time, we should try to place the unemployed into factories and into the most strategic parts of the factory. When you set up Party cells of the unemployed, the objective should be to get them into factories. We should not expect that this line will always work. Never expect an ideal situation, where our people will always be placed in a strategic spot. Once the Communist Party decides that this is an important factory, we must try to get into it, using many methods and means. For instance, in a motor works, a Communist Party member is not in a strategic spot. Efforts should be made to gradually try to move him into a strategic spot and then build an organization. There may be just a small machine shop, but the workers have a lot of connections with auto workers. Through these, we try to make broader connections. Even through a tailor shop, which is a part of a motor works, we can try to make connections. Thus, we can try in three different ways. We should use every method to get into this big motor works.

Then Liu said the Party leadership is unified. But the multiple-sided workers and comrades do not know each other. People in many departments do not know each other. Do not unify Party organization with all members. It is better if they do not know each other. If one is exposed, it would not affect the others. Then Liu asked, "Can we have one line in a big shop?" He answered "Not necessarily." There may be two lines of approach and there may be no connection. The unified leadership can give different tasks and different approaches. You have to have a long-term objective; perhaps no strikes, but just make friends. You may have a ten-year perspective.

Then you have other communists who do mass trade-union work. Sometimes they discover each other, but the Party, as a rule, advises no contact. Even if you are friends, do not divulge your Party membership to each other. If one is exposed, the other is safe. In this way, we can maintain cells in important factories for a long period of time.

In regard to Party leadership on a city scale, Liu said no one individual should know too much. There should be no meeting of activists. Once they meet, it is too late. Generally, one should have contact with two. Then there should be layer after layer separated so there would be no horizontal exposure.

Again about Party work in the city, you should limit full time cadre. Most of the people should be in the factories. Most Party members should have a profession or trade. Then he can get recruits and protection. A Communist Party member should learn his profession and live according to his status. A businessman should make money, a doctor should be a good doctor, a teacher should be a good teacher, et cetera, in order to obtain status. Assuming that the police would question such a person about his communist connections, he would then have good backing.

Liu said when we made mistakes in the old period, businessmen who were supposed to be businessmen would lose money. In this sense, these comrades would never get prestige among the masses. On the contrary, we would shut ourselves up and isolate ourselves. The comrades who do secret work should be entirely separated from the comrades working in the open. Comrades working in trade-unions should be separate. They should not be allowed in Party cells, not allowed to recruit, et cetera. The comrades who do open and legal work are in danger. If they are in contact with the secret cells, they endanger and may expose the underground. When we were working in the Kuomintang area, there were no connections with the secret organization.

Then Liu commented on how to make contact and how to meet. He said we used to use public functions. For instance, some worked as businessmen. They would meet in the stock exchange. They would make use of the places where the enemy pays the least attention. Stock exchange members, as a rule, are not watched by the police.

Secret work should be protected not only by Party techniques, but by legal means existing in society. It should be protected by the masses. When we say this or that comrade is

doing secret work, it means only as regards Party organization. As an individual, he does work in society. Only the Party organization is secret. The Party members should have on their finger-tips the desires of the broadest masses and should unite with the masses. To educate and unite the masses is to make use of legal possibilities and the faults of the ruling class.

Whatever the contradictions are we should not allow the members to say that they are members of the Communist Party. Yet, they propagate the Communist Party line. How can this contradiction be solved, when one propagates the line and yet does not admit membership in the Communist Party? What do we mean when we say the Party represents the interests of the masses? We mean that our Party slogans should be expressed and transformed to meet the longings of the people, to say the things that are in the hearts of the masses. If we have a Party program and the masses do not heed it, what good is it? The demands and the needs of the masses are systemized into a program. This represents the interests of the masses. For instance, in our Party program we say, "We want to improve the livelihood of the masses." Can the masses change a word? No. In the old days, this meant lowering the integrity of the Party. The masses do not say "improve the livelihood of the masses." They say they want a 20 per cent wage increase. They speak more concretely. Can we say the original words were wrong? No. The program needs to be concretized.

Liu cited an example. We say, "We oppose rationalization or speed-up," but in a factory this cannot be put that way. In a particular factory, this must be concretized. For example, "Thirty workers should not be fired," or to be even more concrete, "Mr. Smith should not be fired unless he receives so much severance pay." To lead and carry out a Party program in the factory, we will say we oppose the firing of our good friend, Mr. Smith. We concretize the program without the use of the word "rationalization." Now, this word can be used, but it needs to be concretized. Otherwise, the enemy would say, "This is a Communist phrase."

He said that a clever communist cell is not defending itself merely against rationalization, but is defending Mr. Smith. A communist, Mr. Jones, can get up on the floor and make a proposal. He is for severance pay or something connected with firing. If it is a good proposal, without saying that he is a member of the Communist Party, the workers will say among themselves, "He is a good guy." No one will say he supports the Communist Party. Liu said that despite the fact that we do not use the language contained in the Party program, we,

nevertheless, carry through the Party program. The boss wants to fire Mr. Jones because he is a member of the Communist Party. The workers will say, "If he is a communist, then we are all communists."

In the past, during our sectarian days, our Party members did not see this. Sectarians called it a revision of our program. They charged us with not raising the banner of the Party, with raising personal prestige, with opportunism, et cetera. He went on to say that some of these people were expelled from the Communist Party, but the masses and workers did not like this dogmatism, no matter how correct the Party member would be in using the words of the program. In order to carry out work in such a manner--to concretize it--a Communist Party member must know the desires of the masses and he must familiarize himself with the language of the people. In this way, he can break down our isolation. Although he is known neither as a Republican, a Democrat, or a communist, and his lips do not use the word "communism," he does represent the interests of the masses. We should see to it that this comrade should not lead all the struggles. The next time, another comrade should lead a struggle. Keep on changing people in order to give leadership in mass organizations, so one communist will not have to stand in the forefront all the time. This would lead to exposure.

Next, Liu stated during the period when we made leftist mistakes, we were charged with giving up leadership of the masses. He said, "Which is better--to train one or many mass leaders?" If a Party member should be surrounded by a group of non-Party members, this will be effective. The Communist Party should be well acquainted with the real desires of the masses. The Party should know how to surround itself with non-Party people. This is what we call united front mass work. We start not with the distribution of illegal leaflets and not with empty propaganda, but with concrete deeds. Communists have to root themselves and make friends. Just a leaflet will do the Party more harm than good. In the source of the struggle, we would raise the level of understanding. We would talk about the failures or successes of this struggle and educate the workers. To educate the workers through many practical struggles is to distinguish between right and wrong, is to understand and to realize the forces and critical nature of the enemy. By that time, if the enemy will say that our people are agents of Moscow, the masses will not care because the communists will have gained the confidence of the workers. If

we started out by saying the Soviet Union is this or that, the workers will say these are foreign agents and the police will get you. That is no way to support the Party program. You might as well sign a document saying that you are a communist and then the masses will run away from you.

Liu went on to the question of how to utilize legality. He said that while our Party was an illegal Party, it made use of legality. We make no secret of mass work. When a Party member has twenty workers around him, should this Party member organize them into a study group? Once they are organized, without discipline or experience, the enemy can spot each one and expose them. These twenty non-Party members should make use of legal opportunities and not organize separately. They should use existing organizations. In old China, the Kuomintang organized trade-unions. So did the Japanese. In ammunition factories trade-unions were not allowed. The Kuomintang trade-union leaders were very bad. But we can utilize trade-unions. As Lenin said, "If there are masses, go there." The top leaders were bad, but the masses would like to use these trade-unions. In such trade-unions, there were certain clauses and bylaws in the constitution which could be used. We must bear in mind that these top leaders were corrupt, but were separated from the masses. We made use of bureaucracy to carry on our work. It was possible to become a trade-union leader in a factory. We did not admit Communist Party membership. We acted like Kuomintang trade-union leaders and utilized the laws of the union for the workers benefit.

Then Liu said even when workers oppose bureaucrats, we should not oppose these trade-union leaders. Do not charge the union with bureaucracy or make statements against the union, saying that it is no good. Make use of such unions to come into contact with the workers and to derive benefits for the workers. When a comrade becomes a leader in a local or a shop of such a union and the workers launch a struggle against the boss or the trade-union leadership, he should not come forward as a leader of the struggle. He should assume a "third person" attitude. When the class enemy wants to suppress us, then this comrade should come out as a reformist and say that this would make the situation worse. Act like a reformist. In this way you take the position which will help the workers and this will help raise the prestige of this so-called reformist for the future. He differentiates himself from the more corrupt trade-union leadership. While this local or shop is led by a Communist Party member, he is not known by the enemy and can hold on to his position for a long time.

lba

The top bureaucracy may issue orders to this local leader. If the order is to deceive the workers he takes the order and carries it out with some empty phrases. If the top leadership issues secret orders to suppress the workers, he carries it out in such a way as to warn the workers. You may have to carry out orders of the leadership, but carry them out in such a way that they will not be effective. In some cases if the order is no good use the bureaucracy for their failures. You can carry out the orders from the top in the rightist or the leftist way. This will result in the sabotage of the actual order. In this way we are making use of the enemy and its traditional way of doing things, for the interest of the workers. Bureaucracy is bad. But we make use of this bureaucracy to exist permanently. If one of our comrades becomes a leader in a union local he can protect Communist Party members in that factory. If we have no such attitude the comrades can be exposed.

Then Liu asked, "Can we carry our influence where there are no unions?" That is possible. Use local social setups. For instance, in a particular shop, friends and relatives can be used. Utilize cultural and religious organizations. When we utilize these organizations, we should not take a leftist attitude or we may be exposed. To lead a struggle in a factory, there are legal and illegal methods. These struggles should take different and various forms. A struggle might begin with the circulation of a petition or sabotage or a strike. We can begin by presenting petition demands and develop it into a strike and conclude the strike in a legal way, arbitration, et cetera. This is the "legal way." Unless the situation is ripe for an armed uprising, to try to develop a strike into an uprising, nationally would be wrong. In struggles like these the struggle must be profitably reasonable with moderation. Do not go too far. By "reasonable," we mean it seems reasonable to the workers and society. We want to win sympathy and mobilize masses easier, so they can be more determined in the struggle.

The second principle is that it has to be profitable. If we can gain something out of this, we conduct a struggle. Otherwise, we do not. If the workers insist that we go further and if we think there will be no gain, we must go along and convince them to change their course in order to minimize losses.

Luba

Then Liu said when we gain a victory, we do not continue to expect to gain one victory after another. To push hard will lead to failure. We need time to consolidate our ranks. We are not struggling for the sake of struggle. Struggle is for gaining certain interests of the workers. We cannot solve all the workers' problems. The La Salle theory (opponent of Karl Marx in Germany) was wrong. He once said that "struggle is everything." Marx said that struggle is not everything. Achievement is more important. Some of these benefits are only temporary. The reason the Communist Party leads a struggle is to organize, consolidate and accumulate strength to capture political power. These struggles are to gain temporary benefits and advance consciousness for the ultimate goal. When we led strikes and won them, but broke up our organization, we considered these failures. Struggles take place in many forms. There is no principle that wherever a Communist Party organization exists, there must be a strike. Sometimes when we have to convince workers not to strike, this is also a victory. This is where we have differences with La Salle. Sometimes a strike is not victorious, but the struggle educates the workers and lays the ground for their future struggle and their victory. The day-to-day struggles are all for training the workers and people's army. They are not aims in themselves.

Then Liu said we look upon demonstrations in the same way. If the masses demand demonstrations we will hold them to educate the people, broaden the ranks and strengthen the organization. If we will accomplish this or if it will help us, we will hold such a demonstration. If there is no urgent demand from the masses but only a few Communist Party members want such a demonstration, would not this demonstration be a failure? Not to hold a demonstration or strike depends not upon sentiment, but rather where the strength lies. It must be decided by objective conditions. When the boss is ready to close down a shop and you conduct a strike, you play into his hands. Everything depends on whether we can enlarge our strength. In this way, the Communist Party can organize great mass struggles, and can mobilize them in an open way. But the Communist Party organization is small, under these circumstances, in proportion to the masses. If there are more masses organized, the proportion of communists can be even smaller. On the other hand, if you have only a few activists among the masses and the masses are not in motion, a proportionately bigger communist party may lead to failure. When the Communist Party educates the masses, keep in mind the level of understanding.

lha

Discussions

During the discussions which followed the remarks of Liu Ning-yi, those present would relate some of their own experiences. The Chinese are bolder in talking about their own activities than the Russians are.

They stated that they had infiltrated and penetrated the Kuomintang Government, as well as every organization over which the Kuomintang had control, including the military. They said that before the liberation, practically every general in the National Army had a communist as his executive officer. They said they knew every move of the Kuomintang and they were in a strategic position to determine the outcome of any struggle which would take place.

They made claims that they practically controlled the entire Kuomintang trade-union apparatus, both in the top and in the lower echelons. The communists were not always the leaders in the trade-unions. They would win over some of the trade-union leaders. Other trade-union leaders did not know until the time of the liberation that people working directly under them were communists. The communists would get into the trade-union leadership in one way or another and then behave like noncommunists.

All present cited examples of their experiences in the underground. Yu Chi-ying worked with religious organizations. While the Americans were in China during World War II, the Chinese communists worked as part of the liaison group and as loyal Kuomintang representatives in the various institutions which were established by the United States.

The Chinese have developed the art of infiltration to the highest degree. Their experiences are a master plan. In this connection, they spoke of the influence they had in Formosa. They said that they are not worried about the Formosan Army.

In regard to the Communist Party, USA, the Chinese have read the Resolution of the 16th National Convention, which states that sectarianism is the main danger and that the Communist Party, USA, is separated from the masses. They said that if the Communist Party, USA, has a long-term view, it might once again develop its connections with the masses while, at the same time, protecting the Party organization. The emphasis was on: (1) a correct political line; (2) a distinction between the strategic aim and the tactical aim; and (3) the carrying on of mass work.

bba

In regard to the illegal Party, it must be secret. If there is an illegal and a legal organization, one has to be totally separated from the other. In mass work, the purpose is to gain strength and to lead only those struggles which will win support for the Party among whatever strategic section of the population the Party is trying to win over. The Party should use every possible method in order to get this strength. It should keep in mind that it is saving strength and forces for the realization of the strategic aim. The Party should not expose its members or the organization as long as it can possibly avoid it. Party leaders should not listen to radical phrases, such as raising high the banner of struggle. Struggle is not an end in itself. A more important end is to gain the confidence of the workers. Educate them so they will have confidence in the Party. Then, when the objective situation is ripe, the Party may have the kind of struggle which would lead to the taking over of the Government apparatus.

EXCERPTS FROM A DOCUMENT BY LIU SHAO-CHI

In preparation for the meetings with Liu Ning-yi, I was furnished with a document by Liu Shao-chi. This document was in the form of a brochure. The material was mimeographed and marked "Confidential." The brochure contained two reports by Liu Shao-chi dealing with mistakes in the open and underground work of the Communist Party of China. The leadership of the Communist Party of China considers this to be their most official and authentic summary of the period of their underground work. I asked for and received permission to copy a few paragraphs. The following paragraphs I considered to be the most pertinent and important in regard to this particular subject:

"Distinction between, and Mutual Changes of, Open and Secret Work

"During a given historical period, the strategic task of the Party and revolutionary class remains unchanged, while tactics may change frequently, that is to say, the concrete form and paths which the Party takes for the fulfillment of the strategic task change frequently in correspondence with different internal and external circumstances and conditions in which the Party and revolutionary class find themselves in different periods and places.

"This explains the complexity and changeability of the forms of struggle, work and organization, which the Party and revolutionary class adopt in different period and places for the

achievement of a given strategic aim. The Party and revolutionary class are required to adopt such forms of activities as are "suitable to occasion and place," to have the greatest possible flexibility, and to oppose rigidity and formulaism.

"Open and secret work are two forms of Party work -- two forms of the same thing. In deciding our form of work, whether open or secret, it is necessary that we should make a concrete analysis of the internal and external circumstances and conditions at a given time and place. Only thus can we distinguish what should, and can, be conducted openly from what should, and must, be done secretly.

"Generally (only generally) speaking, whether the activities of the Party and revolutionary class are conducted in a legal or illegal way is the standard and yardstick determining their form of work, whether open or secret. That is to say, legal activities generally can be conducted openly, while illegal activities cannot be conducted openly and must be carried out secretly. (It should be noted that both written and unwritten laws are implied here.)

"Then we have truly understood the internal and external circumstances of the Party and revolutionary class at a given time and place and familiarized ourselves with the laws of the rulers, we will then be able to decide which provisions in the laws can be utilized for the activities of the Party and revolutionary class, what forms of work, organization, and struggle can be conducted openly, and what cannot be conducted openly but must be done secretly -- in other words, what activities are allowed by laws of the rulers and can be conducted legally and what are not allowed and must be conducted illegally.

"The legal and illegal scope of the activities of the oppressed revolutionary class and its Party is not unchangeable either.

"This is because:

"1. The laws of the rulers being made for the purpose of oppressing and fettering the ruled and not the rulers themselves, the rulers can, in accordance with their needs and will, promulgate, abrogate, or change certain laws at any time.

"2. The scope of legal activities of the Party and the masses may expand or contract in accordance with the change of the fighting strength of the oppressed class, the relative strength between the contending sides, and the inter-relation of various classes in society.

"Generally speaking, the legal scope contracts when the revolutionary masses are weak in fighting strength and suffering setbacks; it expands when the revolutionary forces are strong and advancing. The Party and revolutionary class, therefore, must always pay attention to winning legal status and expanding the possibilities for carrying on certain activities legally whenever possible.

"With the rulers, however, the stronger and more threatening to their interests and existence the revolutionary forces become the more they restrict and oppress the revolution (e.g., the present trend of fascism is by no means a sign of the strength of the bourgeoisie.)

"Owing to the changes of the enemies situation and our own and the advance or retreat of the Party and revolutionary class, the scope of legal activities of the Party and masses often undergo sudden changes, giving rise to mutual replacement of open and secret work. Certain or all spheres of the Party's activities often abruptly emerge from the underground into the open or go from the open into the underground.

"Mutual changes also often take place in individual legal and illegal struggles of the masses. The masses, who in the beginning adopt the legal form of struggle, often shift to the illegal form in the course of struggle. On the other hand, illegal struggle of the masses can also force the rulers to recognize the legality of such form of struggle.

"Generally speaking, the activities of the Party and revolutionary class emerge from the underground into the open when the situation is favorable, and go from the open into the underground when the situation is difficult. To emerge from the underground into the open is easy; to go from the open into the underground is difficult.

"The Party should appraise the general trend of the class struggle, the new tasks which it may put forward, and the changes which may take place in the situation in the immediate future. It should go a step further to appraise which part of the activities of the Party and revolutionary class will be made open and which part will go underground and to make preparation and arrangement beforehand, so that such mutual changes of open and secret work will be effected with preparedness and in an organized way. This is of great importance to the work of the Party. By so doing, missing of opportunity, panic, and losses either in work, or of organization, or even of lives can be avoided or minimized.

"How An Illegal Party Should Utilize Legal Possibilities:

"The utilization of the objectively existing legal possibilities by an illegal party in conducting the various aspects of its work is precisely the open work referred to here. In the period of reaction, the Party does not have legal status, nor do the Party members. But individual members, so long as they have not exposed themselves, can still participate in all sorts of legal activities. If we can fully and properly utilize all legal possibilities for individual Party members to participate in all sorts of open and semiopen social activities, then there are objectively many such legal possibilities that can be utilized by us even though the Party is completely underground.

"In times like this, the Party and its organizations are strictly secret, but most of the Party members can still participate in all sorts of open social and political activities according to their respective possibilities. In this way the Party can, through these Party members engaging in open work, penetrate deep into all aspects of social activities, maintain connections with comparatively broad masses, and capture different open and legal social organizations, institutions, and publications.

"This is extremely important to a secret party, because:

"1. Every such organization, institution, and publication can become an important stronghold and fortress of the Party among the masses;

"2. Only in this way can the Party maintain connections with comparatively broad masses and educate them; and

"3. Only by such means can it better preserve and consolidate its secret organizations and continuously build up auxiliary organizations among the masses.

"Thus it will be impossible for the reactionary forces to put the illegal political party of the revolutionary workers out of existence. Only those secret parties that shut themselves up completely in attics are the easiest for the enemy to destroy.

"To utilize legal possibilities is principally to assign Party members to join all legal social organizations and institutions, no matter how these organizations and institutions are controlled

by the reactionaries. At the same time it is also necessary to utilize legal possibilities to set up all sorts of legal 'grey' social organizations and institutions, adopt legal form of work to conduct our activities to unite the masses, to educate them, and within legal bounds to support their interest and direct their actions.

"Comrades working in legal organizations and institutions must patiently and persistently preserve their legal exterior; they must by no means reveal any relation they have with the Party. They must, moreover, try every possible means to capture these organizations and institutions and to preserve as long as necessary the legal status of these organizations and institutions. Therefore, comrades engaging in open work must observe the following:

"1. They must join these legal organizations and institutions through proper procedures.

"2. They must assume proper social standing and exterior, to which their manner of work, attitude, language, style, attire, private life, et cetera, must conform. To the extent of not hampering the practical interests of the Party and the revolution, it is best for them to appear as ordinary and common as possible.

"3. They must adopt open and legal forms that best suit the environment to conduct their work, to direct the struggles of the masses, and to carry out the directives given them by the Party organization. They should not go beyond the bounds of legality to raise, for example, illegal demands and slogans, to distribute illegal propaganda literature, et cetera. They must not copy the procedure of work adopted inside the Party.

"4. They must be able to utilize the contradictions between the different cliques of reactionary forces for attaining their ends, to oppose, by proper and legal means, the reactionary leaders of these organizations and institutions, and at the same time to keep up a show of friendship with them.

"5. They must adhere honestly to the original tasks of these organizations and institutions (provided such tasks do not fundamentally hamper the practical interest of the revolutions) and try their best to preserve the legal status of these organizations.

"6. They must maintain necessary connections with the secret Party organizations and submit to the guidance and supervision of the Party, only that this must be realized by

particularly skillful secret means. Generally they must not simultaneously take charge of any work in the secret organizations; their relation with the Party must be known to the smallest possible number of persons; and their connections with the Party must be minimized to what is necessary.

"Utilization of legality in this way enables our Party members and Party organizations to hide themselves as much as possible among the masses and all sorts of organizations and institutions, to carry out, through legal means, the various aspects of Party work, and within the limits permitted by the situation to cover up at the same time the secret organizations that are carrying on their work. Such work as can be conducted through utilization of legal possibilities should be expanded as much as possible in scope; it should be carried out in as complete a legal and open way as possible (of course semilegal possibilities should also be utilized.) If the Party has more legal possibilities to utilize in carrying on its various branches of work, its secret branches of work can be reduced and contracted to the minimum necessary extent; the organs, personnel, and expenses for the secret work can be reduced and contracted; and the organs of secret work can be more easily set up.

"Only by expanding the scope of open work can we reduce the scope of secret work; conversely, if the former is reduced, the latter will inevitably expand; and this, as far as a secret party is concerned, will be greatly convenient for the enemies and spies.

"The open and legal organizations and institutions which our Party members have joined and in which they work, have their original system of organization and different offices. In accordance with the different offices held by our Party members, there should be a coordination between comrades in the upper and lower strata, a coordination between the legal struggle of the upper stratum, and the illegal struggle of the lower stratum. Generally speaking, comrades in the upper stratum who take charge of open work should screen and assist comrades in the lower stratum who conduct secret work, while comrades conducting secret work in the lower stratum should unite and mobilize the masses to support and aid the responsible comrades in the upper stratum (in countries where there are parliaments, there is coordination between struggles within and without parliament.)

"Such a coordination is attained through the secret connections and organizations of the Party. At the same time, such connections should not go beyond the bounds permitted by the

circumstances prevailing at the given time and place and should be effected by a very skillful method. Should they go beyond such bounds, the offices held by certain comrades, and even the very existence of these organizations and institutions, will be affected.

"The Laws Governing Secret Work

"When the Party is illegal, all its members stay underground and secretly connect themselves with the leading organs of the Party. But among the Party members, apart from those who have joined open and legal organizations and institutions and those working among the masses, there must be a section to take charge exclusively of the secret work of the Party, to organize secret bodies, and to set up secret organizations (such as publication of secret papers, communications and leading organs of the Party.)

"Such secret work of the Party must be carried on by specialists (chiefly professional revolutionaries) and should not in general be simultaneously undertaken by those engaging in open work. Secret form of work inside the Party is entirely different from the open form of work mentioned above. The secret form of work inside the Party must never be adopted in open mass work. Underground workers should, as a rule, not reveal their identities before the masses nor should they directly direct the struggle of the masses. They should hide themselves persistently in hard work.

"It is extremely important that both in personnel and form of work, secret work and open work be clearly distinguished from each other and combined with each other in a given form. It is very dangerous for an underground party to have the one overlap the other or confused with the other either in personnel or in procedure of work, for this will undermine not only the secret work and the Party organs but also the open work and open organs.

"The rules governing the secret work of the Party, as well as the relations between secret organs and functionaries and the relation of these with the open organs and personnel should follow strictly certain regulations, and there should be strict discipline to ensure the execution of these regulations. Because of the grave existence of the enemies as well as the existence of spies inside the Party organizations, any negligence in the secret work may bring serious losses to the Party. Only by strict discipline can we ensure the full observance of all regulations and give proper certainty to secret work.

"In regard to the regulations of secret work, the following items should generally be included.

"1. Every Party member and cadre should know only what he must know and not what is possible for him to know. It is impermissible to carelessly reveal the secrets of the Party to comrades unconcerned or to casually pry into the secrets of the Party.

"2. There must be detailed regulations governing the relations of each and every Party organization (or member) with its higher or lower organ (or with other members.) Apart from what has been stipulated, no transversal relations are allowed.

"3. There must be technical stipulations of secret codes, designations, signs, times, et al.

"4. Excepting that which should according to the regulations, be transmitted, all matters discussed at meeting of the Party organizations at all levels must not be disclosed to anyone by those who attend the meetings.

"5. No names of persons or places and no figures should appear in written reports and transmissions. No membership record and cadre record should be kept. When it is necessary to jot down some notes, certain signs should be used.

"6. Generally there should not be any secret Party documents. In case any are necessary, they should be of such nature as will not reveal the concrete secret work of the Party and should be burned immediately after reading. In Party publications and propaganda literature, no secrets should be disclosed.

"7. Secret organizations must be small, compact, and efficient. Utmost caution should be taken against having large sized and motley organizations. Unnecessary acquaintance between comrades must be avoided.

"8. Every Party member should try his best to preserve his legal status, to keep his Party membership from being known by as few people as possible, and to keep his family and personal history from being unnecessarily known by other comrades.

"9. No general transmission should be made within the Party on concrete secret form of work.

"If open work is clearly distinguished from, and linked up according to strict regulations with, secret work; if the regulations of secret work are strictly carried out, and our vigilance is sharpened to the highest possible degree, then it will be difficult for the enemy spies to carry out their activities within the Party, and even if disruption should unfortunately occur in the Party, it would be only of a local nature and would not affect the whole Party.

"The aim of secret work is to preserve and consolidate the Party in the period of reaction, to elude the enemy's observation of, and attention to, the various spheres of our specific work, and to prepare for successful revolutionary offensives. Therefore, in secret work, utmost caution should be taken against 'revolutionary' phrase-mongering (oral or written) which is of no practical significance at all, for such phrase-mongering, devoid of real practical revolutionary significance, will only arouse the vigilance of the reactionary forces, sharpen their attention, and undermine the secret work. We must never identify such phrase-mongering devoid of content and practical significance with propaganda work of the Party which is necessary at all times for the dissemination of the political stand of the Party. The former must be combatted, while the latter is entirely necessary within the bounds of not undermining the specific secret work of the Party.

"Any secret Party organization, in giving guidance to the comrades engaging in open work, should clearly appraise their position and difficulties; it should give them such tasks as they can shoulder and accomplish and ask them to adopt such forms as are feasible; it should not give them such tasks, or ask them to adopt such forms, as are not permitted by the circumstances, for these comrades are confronted with a great difficulty, which consists in the contradiction between the illegal content and legal form and in the indispensable connection between their open status and the secret Party organizations. Therefore, there must be a limit to the scope of legal form within which they can fulfill the tasks assigned them by the illegal Party. It is not possible for them to perform and accomplish such tasks as are beyond the bounds of legal form.

"The Party that is completely underground should shift the center of gravity of its work to the secret Party branches in factories, workshops, offices, and rural areas. It is necessary to try every possible means to place in these Party branches comrades with the ability to guide, and to reduce as much as possible their dependence on the guidance of the secret higher leading bodies. In this way it will be easier to fulfill the task of preserving and consolidating the Party and to develop properly the Party work."

Kang said that the history of the Chinese Communist Party shows that all these victories would be inconceivable without unity. The leap forward is impossible without unity of the Party. The prestige of Mao Tse-tung among the people is indisputable. His prestige is the material force for mobilizing the people. But this is no cult of the individual. We recently expelled some people who hid under the banner of support of the Central Committee. (This is to show that the Communist Party of China is united, and these people are listed in the resolution of the Communist Party of China adopted at the second session of the 8th Congress.)

Kang went on to say that the bourgeois press has always dreamed of a split in the Communist Party of China. He emphasized this is only a dream. He said the Party is now healthier, with the revisionists and anticommunist elements out.

Then he went on to ask, "Which is dearer--the Party unity or keeping a few counterrevolutionists in the Party?" Of course, Party unity.

In conclusion, Kang said that the Communist Party of China has great concern for the Communist Party, USA. We are interested in your problems. But we are happy that Gates deserted. We are glad to hear that you have endorsed the declaration of the twelve communist parties, and were glad to read the Dennis article on Yugoslavia and Tito, which we published.

PLACES VISITED IN AND AROUND PEKING

Ming Tombs Reservoir

I went to the opening of a reservoir called Ming Tombs Reservoir. It is outside Peking, and is near the burial place of the Ming dynasty. There were thousands of troops quartered there in tents. Thousands of people, including the army, helped to build this reservoir. They had been working on it day and night since November, 1957, in order to complete it before the rainy season in July and August. The troops participated in the ceremonies as a part of the builders of the reservoir. One of the generals in command marched with the civilian dignitaries. I was told that the army helps to build railroads and factories, since they might as well utilize them, even though they are in uniform. They have such centralized control that they can mobilize everyone including the labor force. They say that they still have forced labor camps, although I do not have any information concerning them.

Chou En-lai spent nearly two weeks working and pushing a wheelbarrow at this reservoir. I saw photographs in the paper depicting this. The Chinese comrades told me that when Chou En-lai arrived at the reservoir, the chief engineer and others thanked the leadership for visiting the reservoir. Chou En-lai replied that they were not there as leaders, but merely as Chinese citizens in order to participate in the construction. He said, we are all equals. They described how he broke in on the job in the same manner as the others, ate the same food, sang songs they sang, and received no special favors.

Practically every leader in the Communist Party of China is going through this type of thing. The wife of Tang Ming-chao, of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has been on a farm for six months. She was sent there by the Party. He is taking care of their two children. There are similar examples. The leadership of the Communist Party of China wants everyone in the leadership to live with the people and to act like them. I believe that they are going through this stage, at the inspiration of Mao Tse-tung, in order to maintain the idea that they are a part of the people and are not a bureaucracy. The Russians used to do this. They did manual labor on off days. "Sabotniki" (phonetic) means that you give free labor. Everybody had to do it in Russia. After the revolution, Lenin went through this also. Now, they are doing it in China.

Visit to a Cooperative Farm

I visited a cooperative farm, which was about a two-hour ride from Peking. This visit was made to allow me to talk with the party chairman, the farm committee, the village authorities, et cetera. Those who work on cooperative farms live in fenced-in villages. The farm we visited has 1,500 working members. They have opened fifty new wells and all these wells are equipped with electric motors to pump water for irrigation purposes. They have not done this before. They have made rice paddies and raised other grain. They have experimental rice and other grain in special plots. They were building a new pig sty. They want to buy machines and build more schools. They are opening a few schools in China, and there was a high school in this cooperative. So far, the standards of living have not increased. They are very low.

The Party leadership on the farm is very young. The Party sent these young leaders into the farm. The chairman of the farm was raised in this particular area. The chairman of

the Party on the farm was sent into the farm. The Central Committee is sending people to the rural areas. They are also sending rightists to the rural areas, with a proviso that they cannot have any leading position. They are bringing peasants in in order to teach them farming.

They are removing private burial grounds, particularly in the rural areas. They give notice to the relatives to remove the bodies. However, if the relatives do not do this, the Government does.

In the Peking area, we saw very few tractors on the farms. There is very little motorized transportation in the rural areas or in the city, for that matter. The bulk of the transportation is still with animal power--a mule and a donkey hitched to the same cart. They carry everything in these carts. They also transport articles in trailers and hitch these trailers to bicycles.

Practically everything is done with 99 per cent human labor power. But they have the people organized. They are industrious. While the people are organized and are enthusiastic in Russia, they are not organized as the Chinese are. The Party leadership has the Chinese organized to the nth degree. No one is permitted to be idle in China. The Chinese took me to the bad places, as well as the good places. They were not afraid to take me to places where people live in poverty.

Visits to the Industrial Center in East Peking

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China plans to turn Peking into an industrial city so that they can have a larger proletarian base than they have had up to now.

In East Peking, there are scores of new factories. Around these factories, they establish communities with new apartment buildings with central heating, schools, palaces of culture, et cetera. Not far from this area, they have laid out new roads, tree-lined streets, and a modern concrete highway leading from the center of the city to the eastern section. The plan is to establish an industrial area and to have hundreds of thousands of new industrial workers who will make up the backbone of the Party.

I visited a huge factory in the eastern part of Peking. Radio tubes and electric equipment are manufactured here. The technical expert had just returned from Moscow and thought that I was a Russian. This factory was completely equipped with Russian equipment.

The factory was divided into three gray brick buildings, each of which had a large smokestack. There were three tanks in front of the factory. To work in the electronic factory, a high school education is required. The average age of people in the electronic factory is 24. There were no other factories immediately adjacent to this one, but there were other electronic factories in the area.

I also visited a textile factory. It is a reddish-brown brick building and equipped with Chinese machinery. Most of the machinery was made in Shanghai, although some of it was made in and around Peking. Most of the machinery was automatic or semiautomatic. The average age of the workers in this factory is 22, and they are chiefly women.

Observations on the City of Peking

They are building new embassies in the diplomatic area, which is not too far from the industrial area of East Peking.

I traveled along the Street of Perpetual Peace, which has recently been widened. No building less than five or six stories can be built on this street. They are erecting a new building for the Trade Ministry. They are also building apartments and offices. In addition they have built a new canal, which runs through a part of the city and is used partly for irrigation purposes. It is not too far from the International Liaison Department compound in the western part of the city. They have also built new hospitals along the Street of Perpetual Peace.

They have opened up some of the old palaces. They are not trying to restore these palaces as the Russians have done. However, they are saving some of them in order to tie up present history with the ancient history of China. Many governmental agencies are housed in compounds or old palaces. The government agencies build apartment buildings for their personnel, just as the industries do.

They have built gymnasiums and auditoriums in order to involve the youth in sports. Only in rare cases do they use machinery. While the Russians probably use more cranes than Americans, it is almost totally hand labor in China and they do a pretty efficient job. We have a tendency to underestimate them because of the lack of machinery. While they have very little machinery, they are obtaining and building more. They told about building a 20,000-ton ship, and 90 per cent of the labor is by hand. They organize and mobilize labor.

While Peking is still not the most productive area, they have increased electrical power and irrigation. While I saw great damage to building material in Russia, I saw none in China. They organized the people to kill flies, rats and sparrows because they were eating the grain. They use every foot of soil. They have really organized the people for production.

COMMENTS ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND CHINA

According to the Chinese, they have twelve million Party members and twice as many members in the Young Communist League.

They are receiving all the aid they request from Russia. All they have to do is ask. They said that not only do the Russians send them machinery for the factories, but they even put in lawns around the factories. One of the largest hospitals in Peking is a Soviet hospital. I was also told that the Russians are now building a new embassy for the Chinese in Moscow. It is in the newer section of the city near the University of Moscow. It is said to cost over a million dollars, and is a gift from Russia to China.

The Russians have paid a big price to get the support of the Chinese and they are getting this support. The Chinese take the lead in all ideological battles. For example, Mao Tse-tung actually introduced the Twelve-Party Declaration at the conference in Moscow. The Chinese have given leadership in the struggle against revisionism. This is connected with the internal situation in China as it existed about a year ago. While the Chinese have now consolidated their position, they had to use sharp methods and a lot of terror, both ideological and practical terror, in order to once again take hold of the leadership. I do not mean to minimize the hold the Chinese communists have upon the Chinese people or to minimize the importance and strength of the Communist Party of China.

I get the impression, however, that the Chinese want to work things out on their own instead of always being dependent upon the Russians. I believe this to be true, even though the Chinese kept repeating that the Russians gave them everything. While they endorse the policy of coordinating or meshing the economies of the various socialist countries, they put China in a category of being, by nature, an industrial power. They say that some day they will be as big an industrial power as the Soviet Union and the United States. As long as they can gain

something from it, they will take it on the chin, even from the Russians, while they are building and learning. They are united and at the present consider the Soviet Union as the leader.

Whatever has been said by commentators in the past about the Chinese and their influence in Asia, or that the Chinese look upon certain areas as their preserve, is true. They can reach Asiatic people easier than Russia, and they do this. The Russians are white and are looked upon with suspicion in some Far East countries. The Chinese play their role in these countries.

The Chinese talked about Burma and said that an American expert went to Burma, and told them that the native cotton could not be used with American machinery. The Chinese were then asked to go into Burma. The Chinese sent experts to Burma and told them that China could supply the machinery and they could use their own cotton. The Chinese told the Burmese that they were satisfied just to sell the machinery and that they were interested in the independence of the Burmese. The Chinese told the Burmese that they are not like the Americans, who wanted to sell cotton as well as machinery. The Chinese use the argument that the United States wants other countries to become completely dependent on them. China exports some machinery. The automobiles and machinery which are produced and exported by China create a good impression on the backward Asiatic people.

The Chinese knew a lot about Indonesia. They must have a lot of contacts in Indonesia. Wang Chia-hsiang, head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and others told me that they were not surprised over developments in Indonesia. They said that when President Sukarno was in China, he had talked with them. Sukarno pointed to political differences and groupings, and stated why he can go so far and no further. The Chinese have promised a lot of aid to Sukarno. Some of this aid will come from the Russians. The Chinese said that the Indonesian Communist Party is playing a most important role. The Indonesian Communist Party now has over two million members. In recent elections, they have captured some of the largest towns and cities in Indonesia. The Chinese are in contact with the Indonesian Communist Party. While the Communist Party of the Soviet Union probably has contact with the Indonesian Communist Party, I believe that the Chinese have closer contacts with the Communist parties in the Far Eastern countries than the Russians do.

The Chinese are not worried about Formosa. They were boasting that the imperialists are crazy if they trust the Chinese in Formosa. They said that not only the son of

Chiang Kai-shek, but all the Chinese people on Formosa are antagonistic toward the Americans. They stated that people from Formosa have come to them and told them about incidents which took place on Formosa. They stated that American military personnel mistreat the people on Formosa. They said that the Americans go crazy in regard to security regulations.

The Chinese cited an example of the mistreatment of people on Formosa. They said there are separate swimming places for the Americans and for the Chinese. The Americans killed some Chinese for swimming in a restricted area. They stated that all of these things are creating a feeling in Formosa which, at an opportune moment, will rise like a storm. They also bragged that they generally know in advance when agents or spies are coming into the country. They said that they only publicize the capture of one of these agents or spies when it serves them politically.

In Peking, they showed me schools which have been set up for overseas Chinese. They allow children of overseas Chinese to come to Peking to study. They provide scholarships for them. They are interested in the youth and know that ancestral ties are strong. They try to urge the overseas Chinese to send their youth to China for education. They have special hotels for overseas Chinese who want to visit China. They are getting hundreds of thousands of youth from many parts of the world to come back to China. As an inducement for overseas Chinese capitalists to make investments in China, they will pay them interest as high as 7 per cent.

There is a special place in the International Liaison Department compound which, in my opinion, is made up of overseas Chinese who are Communist Party members and who may work in the underground in places where many Chinese are living. They also had a few Latin Americans in another guest house in the International Liaison Department compound. They arranged things so that I did not meet with these people.

The Chinese are not as formal as the Russians in many respects. This may be due to the fact that they have not been in power long enough. It may also be that events in countries such as Hungary have made them cautious. The leaders want to act as if they are a part of the people. They send Party functionaries and the highest leadership to work on farms and in factories. The highest leadership participates in hard manual labor from time to time. The Chinese discourage high living, but do have shindigs on special occasions. Often, they come dressed for meetings in shorts and sport shirts. One just never does this in Russia. The Chinese dress formally only when there is a very important function or a meeting with a top leader.

The Chinese consider it their duty to aid the Communist Party, USA. They said we are a Party in power, and a Party which is in power must help parties which work under capitalism and are surrounded by imperialism. While the Russians say the same thing and recognize the duty to give international support, the Chinese are more enthusiastic about this than are the Russians. To some extent, they almost seem to be competing with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to see which will receive allegiance. But for every practical reason, the Chinese will be loyal to the Russians and for every practical reason the Russians will not break with the Chinese.

The Chinese need everything they can get from the Russians. China is obligated to Russia. The Chinese have Russian planes and cars. Their buses are Russian-made. Their trucks are either Czech or Russian. Since Russia has supplied these things, the Chinese will stick with the Russians. The Russians are ready to supply them, since there are no ideological differences. There may be nationalist differences and some antagonisms, but the Chinese have no other place to turn.

There is a different interpretation now than there was in 1956, at the time Mao Tse-tung made his famous speech about contradictions and the famous statement "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom--Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend." The Russians were in trouble at that time and the Chinese thought that they were a little bit too crude in dominating the satellite states. It is also true that at that time the Communist Party of China was shaky. The rectification campaign explained by Kang Sheng proves this.

The socialist camp, particularly the Chinese and the Russian segment, is seemingly united. China and Russia are more united now than they were two years ago. There is no question but that the Communist Party is in complete control in China.

When Poland revolted and wanted to break away from Russia, the sympathies of the Poles were with Tito. The Poles sent a delegation to the United States to engage in negotiations for trade. The United States haggled. The Chinese say the United States missed the boat in regard to Poland.

Incidentally, the Russians do not trust Gomulka, according to Nicolai Mitrofsky and Aleksei Grechukhin of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They were glad that I did not go to Poland. The Soviet Union still talks with contempt for the Poles. In the meeting I had with the leading members of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, one could see that the Russians hold the Poles responsible for creating this international criticism of the treatment of Jews in Russia. They charged that the Poles were in touch with the revisionists in the Communist Party, USA, at the time of the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Now they are convinced that John Gates is meeting with persons from the Yugoslav Embassy. They think that the Yugoslavs may give Gates money to start a newspaper.

The Chinese are still worried about Poland. They were glad when Gomulka made the speech endorsing the action Hungary took against Nagy. Until the last moment, it was not known what Poland would do in regard to the execution of Nagy. I lived in the International Liaison Department compound and engaged in daily confidential discussions with people, so I know what their thinking is and how they think. They do not have too much faith in Gomulka.

FUNDS FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

The International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China offered aid in any amount of money to the Communist Party, USA. I was told to name the amount and it would be received. I replied that I had no instructions from the Communist Party, USA, in this regard. I was told that any time the Communist Party, USA, needs financial help, it should let the Communist Party of China know and this help would be given.

CONCLUSION OF THE TRIP TO CHINA

I had no time to arrange for a tour of China. A trip from Peking to Shanghai would have taken approximately seven to eight hours. Shanghai is supposed to be a city which was occupied by imperialists. The Chinese rebuilt Shanghai after the liberation. They carried on a campaign to get the people to move out of Shanghai and the population was reduced by one-third. In the last few years, they have turned Shanghai into an industrial city, with the most modern plants. The population has been increased. They claim they have built a new shipyard there. The Chinese also wanted me to go to Manchuria and to Northwest China, but I could not do it.

The day before I left China, I wrote another letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. I thanked them for their great comradely welcome and for the

discussions they had with me. I named each leader with whom I talked. I said that my thinking had been confirmed by what I saw and I cited some examples. As a sort of postscript to the letter, I thanked the comrades who are not on the Central Committee but who worked with me, including Tang Ning-chao, Lin Pang, and Yu Chi-ying. I thanked them for making me feel comfortable and stated that I hoped that this would only be a beginning of our contacts.

Incidentally, Yu Chi-ying was once a devout Christian. She learned the English language in a YWCA. She is one of the most active members of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

I was due back in Moscow on July 5, 1958, but the Chinese insisted that I stay for a few more days. The Chinese Ambassador to Russia was in Peking, so they could not work through him. They finally sent a message to Moscow that unless it was absolutely imperative, I would stay in China until July 7 or 8, 1958. When a reply was not received for a day or two, the Chinese went ahead and prepared transportation for me so that I would be back in Moscow on July 5, 1958. A few days later, the Chinese contacted Moscow again and it was learned that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said that there were no objections to my staying in China a little longer. I was then supposed to leave China on July 8, 1958, but weather conditions delayed the jet flight until July 9, 1958.

Upon my return to Moscow from China, both Aleksei Grechukhin and Nikolai Matkovsky were anxious to learn the details of my meeting with Mao Tse-tung. They also said that whenever Mao is in Russia, he brings his own translator with him. They said that this translator is very poor and that he does not always give Mao the full significance and meaning of a conversation he is translating from Russian into Chinese.

LAST DAYS IN MOSCOW

I returned from China by Russian jet plane on July 9, 1958. While I was supposed to meet with Nikita Khrushchev, my stay in China had been extended and Nikita Khrushchev and Otto Kuusinen left Russia on July 8, 1958, for the Congress of the Eastern German Communist Party, which started on July 10, 1958.

At the time of my return to Moscow from Sochi about June 25, 1958, at the time of my return to Moscow from China on July 9, 1958, and at the time of my departure from Moscow for Prague, Czechoslovakia, on July 12, 1958, there were all kinds of military vehicles and personnel controlling traffic around the Moscow Airport and the roads leading into the city. A similar situation prevailed at the airport in Peking, China, on July 9, 1958. There were encampments of soldiers in the parks and these were not a part of the military personnel at the Ming Tombs Reservoir. I cannot say whether these were merely summer maneuvers or whether they had some connection with the developing crisis in the Middle East.

All the other meetings that were scheduled for me after my return from China were cancelled, except for the meeting with the Cuban underground leader and contacts with Nicolai Mathkovsky and Aleksei Gorchukhin of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All of a sudden they began to rush me. I can only attribute this to the delay in China and to the international situation. I think that they were anxious to get me past Prague, Czechoslovakia, in the event that trouble broke out in the Middle East. I am sure that the rush had nothing to do with a lack of confidence in me. During the last few days in Moscow, they were very attentive. They took me to a large department store through a secret entrance. I was able to order items without going into the store itself. I was treated with respect about equal to that which a General Secretary of a communist party would receive.

The Russians took minutes of the official meetings I had with members of the Central Committee. They were supposed to compare notes with me. Instead, they gave me a reading of their minutes, and Nicolai said that I had to leave my notes in Russia. He said you can remember the basic things.

The day before I left Russia, I wrote another letter to the Central Committee. In this letter, I said that the Central Committee had helped to clarify a number of problems, particularly in relation to a Party program for the Communist Party, USA. I

also stated that answers which had been given to me by the Central Committee on the matter of questions had been verified as I traveled throughout the Soviet Union and through my conversations with local Party leaders, workers in the factories, collective farmers, et cetera. I promised that I would take up with the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, the questions which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had raised, such as more frequent contacts, the sending of more delegations to Moscow in the future, the sending of young people to Moscow for training, et cetera. I thanked the Central Committee for its proletarian internationalism and for the care and consideration they had given for my material welfare. I thanked the representatives of the International Department, who were in daily contact with me, for their cooperation and for making the journey a success.

The Russians gave me \$400 for transportation and similar expenses for the purchase of souvenirs in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Once I arrived in Prague, I started to act as a typical tourist. They also gave me an address in Moscow for the material published by the Communist Party, USA.